Human Needs and World Christianity

Francis John McConnell

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By
FRANCIS JOHN McCONNELL

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HUMAN NEEDS AND WORLD CHRISTIANITY

INTRODUCTION

Immediately following the close of the World War, what might be called interest in the evangelization of the whole world came to a climax, in the United States especially. I mention the war because the people had gone into the military struggle in a crusading spirit. It is easy enough for us to see now the part played by propaganda in getting the United States in line on the side of the Allies, but the recognition of propaganda itself means that the people of the nation had to be persuaded. Now in persuading citizens by millions to enter a war, the appeal necessarily must be made to a lofty order of motive, particularly when the struggle is not manifestly for self-preservation. Even the suspicion that militaristic economic agencies are at work will wreck the appeal. In so far as such forces come into observation, they must speak the language of idealism; and in America such idealism had been looking toward world fields for a generation. There cannot be the slightest doubt that America went into the war with idealistic motives—motives which the war took advantage of but did not create. The intent was to do something for the whole world—at least to make

the world safe for democracy. Democracy itself was for the moment idealized beyond anything ever known about it in actuality.

The war was over before the United States had fully put forth her energies. The other nations had been fighting years where we fought months. We came out without having "realized" ourselves, as the current school of psychologists would say. We had a deep pent-up reservoir of energy which was not tapped. Some of the idealism evaporated, leaving a deposit of unsatisfied pugnacity which gratified itself in ways of which we are now ashamed. Much of the idealism, however, persisted in a resolve to make the whole world better. The nation had become used to raising huge sums of money in war loans, and naturally thought of philanthropy on somewhat the same scale. The churches saw in the national appeals for financial help a stimulus to and a revelation of the larger possibilities of generosity toward the worldwide spread of the kingdom of God. One denomination pledged for the spread of the gospel over a hundred millions of dollars to be paid in five years, and though there was unprecedented shrinkage, the sums paid in were also unprecedented. Other denominations raised amounts almost as large, the total rising higher than the wildest imagination could have fancied ten years before.

Ten years have passed since the days of our ecstasy, and we find ourselves in the mood which we call disillusionment, to use the mildest term. The fall in contributions for the work which we somewhat technically call missionary has become so striking a social phenomenon that students of social questions are busying themselves with the phenomenon itself just as a problem. All sorts of explanations are offered, but probably they are all varying phases of the one theme—disillusionment. The war itself led to disillusionment. American soldiers who went forth to battle got a shock and a setback not so much from the actual nature of the fighting itself as from the temper of the people whom Americans supposed they were to rescue. The Allies were jaded beyond the possibility of an enthusiastic gratitude. Even those who had been pictured as in the most hopeless plight, often gave the impression of thanklessness. America had been appealed to in such extravagant terms that she inevitably took herself as the savior of the world.

When, after the war, there appeared coolness, not to say resentment, at what seemed American self-sufficiency and conceit, the altogether too natural rejoinder was that Europe might stew in her own juice. This was bad enough in the case of our own relations with Europe, but worse in

the case of the relations of the so-called Christian nations with the so-called non-Christian nations as to evangelizing enterprises. America is the chief illustration of the point I have in mind, though it applies to other Christian nations. Just as there had been over-confidence in a physical agency such as war, so there had been over-confidence in a physical tool like money for the Christianization of the world. I knew a dear old saint over eighty years of age who prayed during the closing months of the war that the Lord would let him live to see the grand new world into which humanity was to enter after the struggle. He had heard so much about ideals in the conflict that he imagined the ideals were to become real as soon as the armistice was signed. Thus many good people thought also that the evangelization of the world would go forward with leaps and bounds in the five-year period during which their special subscriptions were to run. There was over-confidence in money, over-confidence in the evangelizing force of the so-called Christian nations. The church could not be blamed for all this. Well-meaning religious leaders had talked as if world conversion was chiefly a matter of dollars enough. America had the dollars and was giving them. No wonder that the nation came to a dangerous self-complacency, to the pride that goeth before a fall.

The fall came. Discerning students soon began to point out to us that the war itself, which we had supported so generously, was the climax of selfish forces which had entangled all nations for a half-century—even conceding the utmost to idealism. Among the dynamic phrases that had been let loose and set going by the war was self-determination. This phrase was used glibly and lightly in those fighting days; and the users stirred with a shock of surprise when peoples like the Indians and Chinese began to take self-determination seriously in all realms—including the religious. The non-Christian peoples spoke out to the Christian peoples in challenge of Christianity. There was a good deal of misunderstanding in this. The church in Christian lands got an idea that the Christians in non-Christian lands were not only ungrateful for the millions of dollars and thousands of religious workers who had gone forth on worldwide enterprises, but that the converts were virtually rejecting Christianity. Here Christian workers had been to blame. They had voiced an over-optimism. Emissaries from Christian lands had prophesied the early coming of too many summers from too few swallows. Striking incidents had been used in their reports as a basis for too wide generalization. Non-Christian lands had been willing to accept some of the material blessings of Christianity without any

thoroughgoing interest in Christianity itself. The people at home heard with startled surprise that the masses of China had little fondness for Christianity, and that multitudes of them would stand against its coming. They did not realize that this had always been so. China as a whole has never yet shown any tendency to adopt Christianity, for the reason that millions upon millions of the Chinese have never heard any intelligible putting of Christianity, and for the further reason that the masses of any nation are conservative when outright change of religion is proposed.

In addition to this, however, there were reports that the Chinese and Indian Christians were tired of ecclesiastical control from the West, and scores and hundreds of churchmen, in America particularly, resolved to let the foreign Christians shift for themselves. If the churches in lands to which we have sent our money want to run their own affairs, said many church members in the West, by all means let them do so, but hereafter let them find the money for themselves. It must be admitted that the leaders of indigenous churches at first said many things which seemed to mean that they would welcome being thus entirely left to themselves.

I do not know that we can say that the world evangelizing effort has in the past decade gone

through two distinct stages, but the stages have been fairly well marked, well enough marked, at any rate, to be subject of discussion. The first stage was that of the assumption mentioned above—that the Christian lands had only to hand out Christianity to the non-Christian lands, telling the churches in the non-Christian lands just how they were to conduct their affairs. The other stage has been that in which the indigenous churches have talked about running their own affairs.

A unique religious conference was held at Jerusalem from March 21 to April 8, 1928. Whereas most conferences on world Christianization have been predominantly composed of representatives from Occidental Christianity, the aim at Jerusalem was to keep fifty-one per cent of the delegates as a percentage inalienably sacred to the churches in foreign fields. The East was to be given its chance to speak out. The leaders from the West had a feeling that the time had come to hear the message from the Orient, not from missionaries, certainly not from tourists, no matter how religious, nor from deputations sent out from the West, but from accredited representatives of the Orient's own choosing. The delegates from the West came to Jerusalem expecting to hear as direct speech as they had ever listened to, and expecting also to make the utmost possible use of the truths thus force-

fully and even bluntly communicated. It is not too much to say that the Westerners had braced themselves for such speech.

Now what happened? There was indeed, especially at the beginning, a deal of direct speaking, much of it encouraged by the delegates from the West themselves. One speaker told us of the temper of China, and another of that of India, and still another of South Africa. In each case, however, the speaker was talking by request and not of his own motion. As the reports of the committees on race relations and on the relation of Occidental to Oriental churches were read, there was considerable breath-arresting frankness. All this was over, however, in the first week; and then what? Then East and West settled down to discuss the problems which they had to work out together. For example, two sessions were given to the handling of rural problems. The report that came in had been prepared through the joint leadership of two chairmen, Dr. Kenyon L. Butterfield of the United States, and Mr. K. T. Paul of India. To be sure, differences appeared in the rural situation in Orient and Occident, but barring these differences, I could have closed my eyes and imagined that I was listening to a Home Board debate in New York or Chicago.

After Easterners and Westerners alike had ex-

pressed their distinctive types of "self-assertion," they settled down to deal with a problem much the same the world over. We have had altogether too much of picking out single events and construing them as turning-points in the history of this or that, and I have no desire to lay overmuch stress on the Jerusalem conference as marking a change of direction. I do think of it, however, as an illustration of what is likely to happen in the effort for world evangelization from now on. Intelligent representatives from Western churches are not likely to make claims of superiority in the old fashion. It is of the purpose of this book of mine to show phases of genuine advantage which Western Christianity possesses, but those superiorities are to appear in the course of the redemptive work which it does, and are not to be heralded in the tone which suggests consciousness of superiority. Representatives from Eastern churches are not likely to emphasize hereafter their own ability to get on by themselves. Already the inability of any section of the church to live by itself is clear. At every meeting of East and West hereafter there is almost certain to occur again what happened at Jerusalem. Conferences called to develop traits of difference and distinctiveness will end in common discussions of difficulties and challenges much the same the world over. They will talk of the

need of better health, more wealth, sounder knowledge, larger freedom, and closer fellowship. It is in dealing with such problems that the best in each point of view can be brought out, for Jerusalem showed the necessity of the human approach to divine redemption, and the fundamental sameness of all human problems in such redemption.

It is my purpose to seek to trace out the human values which Christian workers the world over have both to start from and work toward in dealing with the common task of world evangelization. Before we finish we may see that on the basis of mutual human understandings we arrive at a firmer grasp on the indispensability of the message of Christianity as divinely redemptive in all fields. In any event, the present-day argument for Christianity in non-Christian lands must consist as never before in actual human results, which prepare for and lead toward that vision of God which is the noblest of all riches.

I

BETTER HEALTH

I start with a phase of Christian effort about which there is most general agreement. I refer to medical work, to the agencies which strive for better health for human lives everywhere. I am in agreement with those who maintain that it is a primary duty of the preacher of the gospel in the so-called non-Christian lands to bring men by the speediest path to willing acceptance of the Christian view of God, and of man, and of the world in which we live. The question is as to the shortest path. No matter what the missionary worker may conceive beforehand as to the best method of teaching about God and man in terms of Christ, in most non-Christian lands he is likely to find much of his work cut out for him from the hour of his arrival. There he meets at once and squarely the fact of physical pain, and all that pain involves and implies. Let him resolve that he will give himself strictly to preaching and pastoral labor; the pastoral duties take much of his time every day. Now what shall he do when he sees that the sick on whom he is calling could in almost all cases be helped, and in many cases be

cured, with even the simplest methods of medicine and surgery common in the land from which he comes? He sends back for aid—for medicine, for a visiting nurse, for a doctor, possibly for money for at least a start toward a hospital. He has no alternative before such urgency.

It is to be noted that we here have firm hold of something about which there is not likely to be extensive counter-claim set up by non-Christians. Such counter-claim may have plenty to say about the right of non-Christian religions to take their stand on a plane of equality beside Christian systems, but only a few champions of everything non-Christian would put up much of a plea for Chinese or Indian systems of medicine or surgery as against the healing science which has come out of the Christian civilization. We are aware that the non-Christian religionist makes a quick rejoinder to all this to the effect that there is nothing specifically Christian about modern scientific medicine, that asepsis and anæsthetics and marvelously contrived surgical instruments are the discoveries or inventions of men many of whom held no Christian views whatsoever.

Now we cannot settle the question as to the Christianity of a scientific community by calling the roll to discover who among scientists are connected with the organizations of Christianity, or

who accept the theology of Christianity, or who call themselves Christian. We freely admit that organized Christianity has many times stood across the path of science to block progress, but we insist that even a reactionary organized Christianity itself starts into action dynamic ideas whose workings it cannot confine to limits set by the organization itself. For example, a pope might lay down the boundaries within which a scientifically minded churchman might think as to the constitution of the world. A pope might decree that all disease is a retributive calamity sent by God and then permit the churchman to study the processes by which the calamity comes about, but the pope's decree could not stop the inquiry at the limit indicated. Question would inevitably arise as to whether the pope's suggestion was valid or not. Disagreement with papal or any other ecclesiastical authority does not take one out of the ranks of Christianity. The spirit of free inquiry is a characteristic of Christianity if anything is. There is a measure of justice in the claim that even atheism itself appears in Christian communities because of the free inquiry which is essential to Christianity. If the Christian holds that human error is made possible by free human choice, then he must admit that error in human thinking is possible through the acceptance of the Christian principle of free inquiry. Chris-

tianity is light. The light itself makes possible the seeing of many things that contradict Christianity.

SCIENCE AND SERVICE

All this to one side, however; medical and surgical sciences are Christian in that their use has been made Christian by the spirit of service. In foreign fields the spirit of service is quite as indispensable as science itself. I once heard a leading American teacher of medicine, himself not at first deeply concerned about religious aims, say that the spirit of service of doctors on the foreign field is quite as wonderful as their science itself; that indeed the science would be of no avail without the sacrificial spirit, for in mission stations patients seldom can pay adequate fees or any fees at all, and the sending churches do not pretend to pay their doctors and nurses what they could get in the home lands. One of the bitterest critics of Christianity of this generation remarked some years ago that what China needs is the scientific method. Someone asked if he would not amend his statement to make it read, "The scientific method worked in the spirit of Jesus." This the critic of Christianity accepted. He had to accept it—there is no other way of making the scientific method work in a land like China, or anywhere else, as I shall try later to show.

We must not be disturbed by the criticism which

conceives of Christianity in narrow terms, such as that which points out to us that doctors by the thousand at home as well as abroad toil without thought of reward, and also without thought of Christianity. We are informed that there would be something priggish in a doctor's reminding himself that he must labor with a high ideal of altruistic helpfulness, that doctors in multitudes of instances serve without thinking of themselves or of their service. Who said, however, that doctors on mission fields work self-consciously? It is observers like myself who seek to point out the animating spirit, a spirit which has taken such complete possession of workers' lives that they cease to think about it. Wherever that spirit appears, it is of the essence of Christianity. In the parable of the Good Samaritan we are not to suppose that the Samaritan formally reflected within himself that before him lay an opportunity to perform a deed of unselfish service. All the Samaritan thought about was to help the stricken man and to do so as quickly as possible. Jesus meant to hail that spirit as of the ideal toward which the law and the prophets had pointed from the beginning. He did not mean that the priest and the Levite had deliberately flouted the ideal. He meant that their devotion to the ideals of Israel had not gone deep enough to quicken them to see a neighbor in a stricken man by the

roadside. Wherever Jesus saw a spirit like that of the Samaritan, he hailed it as of the kingdom of heaven.

Here may be as good a place as any to say a word about the duty of laying stress, the world around, on the motives of a genuine Christianity. This theme is being widely discussed today, chiefly in connection with the incentives in a Christian industrial order, but a word about it may be pertinent here. Anything which looks in the direction of the highest and best for men is to that degree Christian; and provided that the higher human reference is kept in mind, we may, for example, say that the pity which would lift the burden of pain from man is Christian. I once sat in the class of a distinguished teacher of philosophy who, just before coming into the room, had received a letter from India in which a student, preparing a thesis, had asked to be excused from having the thesis ready at a specified date, because he had every morning to minister to fifty or a hundred sick or starving babies in a scourge of plague and famine. The professor, deeply stirred, remarked that in crises of famine and plague all our philosophies go by the board, and our duty is to search for food and medicine. The rule of action which the philosopher sanctioned in that crisis is today taken as an adequate procedure by scores of thinkers. Themselves

with the most godless of creeds, they will even urge worldwide Christian endeavor for the sake of relief of distress. The picture before the mind of such thinkers is that of a drowning race with nothing but their faces above water, or of a sick humanity crying out for anything that will ease pain.

It is not just to seek to minimize the force of this pity, but pity is a dangerous sentiment, dangerous to the man pitied and to him who pities. Much of the resentment felt by Oriental lands against Christianity today comes of the feeling that out of pity the Christian has overstated the physical distress of non-Christian lands. Plagues are not always raging, we are told, and even if they are, the sentiment of pity for this condition distorts the vision of the whole. The immense masses of China and India are able to get about and to do their work as they have been doing it for centuries. Taken in the large, they are in tolerable health. The Chinese or Indian informs us that with such huge populations there is bound to be suffering, and the apparent indifference of communities to the suffering is either overstated, or is a natural and necessary adjustment to a situation with which an individual can do but little; that travelers from America and Europe make like adjustment when they are long in the country. From personal experience I know this last charge to be true. A few years ago I landed in

Shanghai one bleak morning in November. The first sound which oppressed me was the coughing of the ricksha men. These men would each pull a ricksha, loaded with a fellow-human being, a distance of a mile for a fare of possibly five cents, seldom more than ten cents. At the end of the run the human draught-animal would be in a drenching sweat. He wore nothing but a blue cotton blouse and trousers and straw sandals. When he had discharged his passenger he would sit beside the road, often stripping away the blouse, until he cooled off. Hence a continuous succession of colds, and the cough so frightfully suggestive of tuberculosis. I stayed at a house which the rickshas would pass at all hours of the day and night. I heard the coughing in the dead of night, and would go to the window and see the ricksha men sitting in the light of a street lamp, coughing. I asked myself if I could ever get used to that dreadful sound. How long did it actually take for me to get used to it? About two weeks. After that I ceased to hear it. Now I should not like to hear my indifference called callousness. It was merely "getting used to it." Nature sets up a protective shield in such situations, or the nervous system of onlookers would be wrecked through incessant drain on the sympathies.

If I make such a legitimate defence for myself,

cannot the dwellers in an Oriental land make the defence also? Fighters against disease in our own land say that the battle cannot go on well until the workers cease to cherish pity as a mere feeling and are actuated by it as a motive force. A visitor to an operating room in a hospital may at first be distressed by the apparent mechanicalness of the procedure. There is alertness on the faces of the workers, but no suffused pity. Everything is technique, moving with the precision of a military drill. Where is the fine feeling? The fine feeling has been set to work to accomplish a result of relief. The defender of the non-Christian civilizations avows that in his land the problem is too large to permit of relief, and that the only practical course is to prevent energy from being wasted in non-availing sympathy.

Let us listen for a little to criticisms of the Occident which may help us to get a better focus on ourselves. The defender of the Orient against the Occident goes on with by no means negligible cogency to insist that the scientific methods, in which the West is admittedly superior, were won for the West itself by the heroism and persistence of individual scientists. He declares that, so far as the masses of the Occidentals are concerned, they are no more entitled to credit for living in a land where scientific methods prevail than the Orientals

are deserving of blame for not living in such a land. Until the scientific methods had proved their superiority through tangible results, the scientists had just about as stiff a fight to get science popularly accepted in Christendom as they have today in non-Christendom. The battle against vaccination continues to this hour. Even asepsis has been widely ridiculed within the past quarter-century, and there are enough medical quackeries abroad in the United States to prevent any reasonable citizen of that nation from putting on airs over the prevalence of the scientific temper. The deadliest method of warfare against ideas in a democracy is ridicule, and this weapon has been abundantly used in Christendom against science. For example, when the final attack was made on yellow fever, the knowledge utilized was that the germ of the fever must be transmitted by the bite of the mosquito; the mosquito must be of a particular species; the biter must be a female of that species, and must have previously bitten a human sufferer from yellow fever at a definite stage of his disease; and the germ of the disease must have been carried by the mosquito for a definite period. All of which seems funny, and in the hands of a humorist of any knack at all, even seems excruciatingly funny until the facts turn the laugh against the scoffer. The common acceptance of scientific methods may not

be due to the growth of a genuine scientific temper so much as to the spread of the popular realization that he who laughs last laughs best.

Or take the superior cleanliness of the Occident on which the Westerner prides himself as a cause of Christendom's comparative immunity from disease. To hear some Westerners talk, one would think that cleanliness is inherent in the white races, but cleanliness is a comparatively recently acquired virtue. Not one of us would care to live in the conditions in which the kings over our ancestors lived five hundred years ago, so far as cleanliness is concerned. As we are today, we could not have endured to eat at a king's table in those days if we had been compelled to watch the king eat. Similarly, the profusion of bathing conveniences is a recent social phenomenon.

The critic from the Orient continues that there is a deal of lordliness of unthinking superiority in the attitude taken by some more favored nations toward some less favored in all such matters. We admit the charge. The Protestantism of North America has for decades been sending missionaries to Mexico in the best of Christian spirit, but think of the difficulties thrown against that effort by propositions made for cleaning up Mexico by the United States—cleaning up from physical disease, I mean. During the Carranza administration the

suggestion was made in the United States public press that a leading health agency of the United States take in hand the task of ridding Mexico of a plague of typhus then devastating her. We can hardly believe our memories as we recall the volume of abuse from north of the Rio Grande poured on Carranza for his refusal to favor the relief measures from outside. On the face of it Carranza seemed to be acting with incredible callousness, on the face of it, that is, as viewed from the gigantic land to the north. There was no doubt that the suggestion was made in good faith, that the relief agency would have put its utmost strength into the effort, that many lives might have been saved. Now look from the other side. Typhus is a filth disease; at least, it is transmitted by the bite of body vermin. In all discussions of the Mexican epidemic the newspapers to the north so dealt with this peculiarity of the disease as to leave the impression that the Mexicans were among the dirtiest people on earth, and the reaction to this in turn drove many highly intelligent Mexicans into the temper of denying the facts themselves, avowing that typhus is not produced by the body louse at all but by "something in the air." The Mexican nation was throughout offended, not to say incensed. Moreover, the plans of relief work would have admittedly called for the strictest search of and scrutiny

of the daily life and habits of the Mexicans, requiring the exercise of virtual police power by the outside agency. The surrender of such authority over a wide area, not in isolated seaports, as in the battle against yellow fever, but in the heart of the capital itself, would have been regarded by the nation as a humiliation, to say nothing of the possibility of constantly recurring clashes between American workers and Mexican citizens, and this at a period when the relations between the two nations were strained nigh unto breaking. If a United States health agency had come into Mexico and had failed to stamp out the typhus, there would have been mutual recriminations without end. If the enterprise had succeeded, the success would have been hailed all over the northern republic as an argument for complete intervention in Mexico. It is difficult at this lapse of time to see how any substantial victory over typhus in Mexico could have been won except through a virtual occupation of the country by agencies of the relieving country. Incidentally, at the moment the proposition was most forcefully urged, the disease had run its course, or was beginning to break.

This episode is mentioned at length because it is a nearly perfect illustration of the condescending, patronizing spirit which gets into expression when a nation more highly benefited by science is actu-

ated by a feeling of pity toward a less benefited nation. What citizen of the United States could resist a tinge of the feeling of superiority toward Mexico at the time of the typhus plague? It is true that a doctor from the United States—Ricketts—had laid down his life in Mexico to discover the secret of typhus transmission, but at least a hundred millions of dwellers in this country knew only what they had been told about such diseases. As for freedom from vermin, that, too, is a comparatively recent excellence. Chronologically speaking, the backwardness of some of the less cleanly nations consists only in that they are a little behind the cleanest nations. In any event, the proposition for one nation to clean up another is about as conciliatory as the proposal that one man wash another's face.

It is doubtful if pity for the living conditions of other peoples is a safe motive for endeavor at world evangelization. As a matter of fact, workers from outside among even the least favored of peoples soon arrive at hearty respect for such peoples. Pity for their distresses does not cease, but—with the worker who attains to anything like success—deepens into respect. With regard to the discovery of remedy for disease, the less favored peoples, so far as their relations to the main current of scientific progress are concerned, have done surprisingly

well. True science begins with the spirit of inquiry and experiment, and there is much scientific work which might be characterized as just inductively looking about. In that looking about, the untrained mind—untrained from the Western point of view—is entitled to much more credit than we are at times accustomed to grant. Nobody but a skilled microscopist, bacteriologist, physiologist, could ever demonstrate that a living animal organism in the blood of a human being is the cause of malaria, but it would not require such technical knowledge to prove that quinine is a specific for the disease. Specifics are discovered not by formal reasoning but by trying out everything under the sun. At that trying out the members of non-civilized tribes have won no small measure of success. To be sure, such unscientific search gathers an appalling lot of stuff which is worse than useless, but such outcomes are not confined to the non-scientific searchers. The truth is that untutored tribes have been compelled to make adjustment to the world in which they live. The fact that they have lived, and have lived in such numbers, is witness to an inherent force without which they would have perished outright. If at moments we are tempted to dismay at the diseases of China and India and Africa, let us not forget that these peoples are now on earth by the millions, and that after

we have made most generous allowance for the natural immunizations which have been wrought out in their physical organisms without the people themselves taking any thought or care about their condition, there must nevertheless have been an immense total of purposive effort as part explanation of the result. If we are ever tempted to look down upon China because of the prevalence of disease, let us remember that when our last criticism is in, China has had a continuous social and political history of more than four thousand years. As a sheer feat in physical survival, it would not be easy to match this record.

At this point some irritated Westerner thrusts upon us the age-old dictum that poison and disease do not mean the same to Oriental peoples as to Occidental peoples. Here again we have something of that superciliousness which is the opposite of respect. Now it is true that Oriental organisms have inured themselves against some epidemics, that existence under simple conditions brings freedom from the diseases experienced under artificial environment, that lack of opportunity for comfort has brought indifference to minor distresses. Anyone, however, who has ever walked through a hospital in China, or who has seen Chinese injured in accidents, can bear witness to the reality of pain for them. The method of disposing of the suffering

of a race by saying that pain does not mean for the so-called non-civilized what it means for those of us who call ourselves civilized is altogether too easy.

THE HUMAN APPROACH TO PAIN

I have discussed this theme of the relief of pain at such length because of a desire to approach the task of evangelization from the point of view of that emphasis on human values which is so distinctive in Christianity. Making all conceivable allowance for the actual kindliness of those who may still take a low view of human life, or who act out of such sympathy as they would feel for a drowning or suffocating race, the fact remains that the higher the view we take of men, the wiser will be even our physical aid to them. The common task the world over today is increasingly to exalt the human values. It does not detract from the distinctiveness of Christianity to admit that many non-Christian communities are striving at this same task. Any Christianity which at all understands itself puts in a central place the service to be rendered to human lives.

Here again I am anxious to make all reasonable concessions. It has been charged against some forms of Latinized civilization especially that the emphasis on professional skill in medical and surgical work has become an end in itself. The charge

need not be limited to any one type of civilization, for the tendency is one of those common temptations to which professionalists may yield anywhere. Moreover, it must be remembered that the pursuit of scientific knowledge for its own sake, as we say, is not for its own sake, after all, for the knowledge sought must be worth while, and the worth-whileness is at the last judged by a human standard. It must lead to a more consistent view of the field of research. The study must be humanly interesting, and the results disclosed by the man who has cared nothing for their practical aspects do work their way out into practical expression. Society encourages thinkers to labor at abstract problems for the sake of the concrete result.

There is admittedly an exaltation of science which needs to be corrected, namely, the overlooking of personal values in the dependence upon the uniformities and standardizations which have been developed in the modern worldwide attack upon disease. May I be permitted to say that before the Great War it used to be remarked that the hospital practices of both Germany and Japan were so centered upon the strictly scientific that sick persons as persons were lost sight of. I mention these two countries not because I wish to single them out for disparagement. Japan has adopted modern scientific medicine in thoroughgoing whole-heartedness,

and has produced discoverers like Noguchi and Takamine to whom the whole world is indebted. But one country is in Christendom and the other outside, suggesting that any such over-regard for the scientific in distinction to the human is not the peculiarity of any one form of civilization. Among the ablest of the younger generation of medical scientists of our time was the late Dr. Francis W. Peabody of Harvard University, whose untimely death was a calamity both to science and Christianity. Shortly before his death Dr. Peabody wrote a little book, published by the Harvard University Press, entitled *The Care of the Patient.* It might reasonably have been supposed that Dr. Peabody, authority on many phases of disease, would have chosen to employ the few remaining months after he knew that he must die of an incurable disorder, on some strictly scientific monograph. We may assume that extraordinarily intelligent men know what is most important for them to do as they see death at close range. Here was a scientist who took his last precious moments to tell of the need of treating sick people as persons, of cherishing respect for them as human beings, and of dealing not merely with the physical body but with the entire man, with all his notions and prejudices. The church rightly lays stress on the physician's or nurse's task as offering unusual evangelistic oppor-

tunity; but that opportunity is not fully discharged by a formal religious talk. It is discharged when the physician reveals by his attitude and bearing his respect for human values and his regard for the person before him.

The one deadly heresy, in the opinion of Jesus, was to get a wrong view of men. For theological mistakes Jesus had amazing charity. A man might make mistakes about God, and the mistakes could be overlooked until they could be corrected, but mistakes about men were much more deadly. It is significant that the terrible word about the sin that has no forgiveness was spoken to men who were saying that healing the sick was of the devil. The sin of Dives was his opinion, or lack of opinion, as to the worth of Lazarus. The priest and the Levite fell under eternal condemnation because they were so full of what they conceived to be a duty to God that they were blind to the needs of a stricken man. The supreme test at the judgment scene as told in *Matthew* was the meeting of tests in themselves so insignificant that those who had met them could not remember them, and those who had not met them thought they had. In our estimates of the forces which make for the worldwide spread of Christianity we are likely to overlook the significance of manners, of the forms growing out of human contacts. All forms and ceremonies

have as their original aim the safeguarding of a value. The rites and etiquette demanded by kings have always the conservation of the sacredness and dignity of kingship. The forms which human beings observe at table have played a part in lifting eating to something higher than an animal function. So with the customs which indicate mutual respect. Omit these and the assumption is that some human value is lost sight of.

If anyone thinks that this chapter approaches the problem of world Christianity from an exclusively materialistic angle, let me remark that it might be conceivable that the civilized nations should come into such control of nature's curative secrets as within five years to travel over the whole earth and relieve every twinge of pain, and yet do it in such fashion as to make a deeper cleavage than ever between the so-called civilized and non-civilized peoples—curing with contempt or condescension, or with disregard of the wishes of sufferers, or by compulsion, in which situation we should have merely exchanged physical disorders for spiritual. I once knew of a scientifically equipped hospital managed by Europeans in a Chinese city in a province which a European power was holding with professedly high aims toward the Chinese dwelling there. The health conditions in that city were dealt with by a regimentation thoroughly

military. Every case of illness was at once reported to a central office, and sent to the hospital forthwith if hospital attention seemed called for. All of which was well-meant and in good faith. The Chinese no more than Americans or Englishmen are fitted to tell what is good for themselves when they are sick, and the well-intentioned European authorities were resolved to do the Chinese good whether they wanted the good done or not. The upshot was what anyone with a slight knowledge of human nature could have foreseen. The only Chinese who came to the hospital were those who were carried there. No converts were made even to Western science, to say nothing of Christianity.

The English, as the common phrase has it, do these things better. In a Chinese center the English years ago established a high-grade hospital in close proximity to an institution in which Chinese methods were relied upon. The English doctors never wasted their energy in talking about the absurdities or inadequacies of Chinese practice. If a patient chose to come to the English hospital, he could come. If after having entered he preferred to change to the Chinese institution, he could do so. If he had any wishes that could be acceded to without danger to the success of the medical or surgical treatment, they were granted. Nobody lectured on the superiority of Western science, but

Western science won in that Chinese community. I once visited an American hospital in Nanking. On the day of my visit there were only two nurses on duty, and the surgeon was gone on an errand of mercy to a distance. One of the nurses suspected that I was showing symptoms of a critical mood and remarked that I was probably wondering why the hospital was not surgically clean. I replied that no such question was in my mind, that I was not expert enough to tell whether a hospital was surgically clean or not. Thereupon the nurse explained to me that the hospital seldom received any except pus cases, that patients came to the hospital after everything else had failed and the Chinese doctors had given the sufferers up to die. It seems that the hospital was a venture of faith in a community at that time suspicious of Christian doctors, and that the usual stories were common as to the mistreatment of Chinese in Christian hospitals, the result being that the only patients who came did so indeed of their own free will, but only as a last resort.

Now think what faith those in charge of that hospital showed. Merely on the surgical side, think of their faith in their science. A pus case of course means infection in a somewhat advanced stage. The odds would be against the doctors. Moreover, think of the alternative involved for the hospital. If the patient died, all the Chinese doctors in the

community would say, "I told you so"—and that would be their gentlest condemnation. If the patient got well, the enmity of the Chinese doctors would be aroused. The one safe course was to show every patient that the hospital was doing its utmost for him, and doing that utmost in complete solicitude and friendliness of spirit. I do not think I have ever seen, in Christian work at home or abroad, a more thoroughly Christian point of view, or method, or spirit, than in that Nanking hospital.

IDEALS AS CURATIVE AGENCIES

We have not yet reached the most important consideration. It is true that Christianity reveals itself in the view it takes of human values, and that this view is mightily important as the Christian church fares forth to relieve the pain of the world. Make all the allowance we please for the past and present failures of organized Christianity to act on its own teaching as to the worth of a man, it nevertheless has an ideal of human worth and dignity which can be utilized as possibly the most potent single factor for the conquest of disease. That conquest is a task for the whole world. The lines of communication among the peoples on the earth are now so thickly interwoven that a scourge of influenza breaking out in India will soon involve the human race everywhere. Food-borne, water-

borne, insect-borne diseases may be as successfully limited and circumscribed in their ravages as Asiatic cholera and the bubonic plague have been, but influenza shows that there are subtler carriers of disease whose secrets have not yet been mastered. In any event the task is for the whole world, and every weapon which promises help should be called into service. The urgency of the call may be the reason why many humanitarians who do not accept the Christian view of the universe as a whole, do lay emphasis on the Christian view of man as a direct aid in the warfare against pain—just as the true Christian thanks God for the worldwide health campaigns of the Rockefeller Foundation and of the League of Nations.

The Christian view of man, however, is not all. There is the Christian view of God and of the world. Once in a Chinese city I saw a band of men yelling and waving wisps of burning straw in front of a house to frighten off the devils from the bedside of a man supposed to be dying. A friend explained to me that the spectacle was not by any means as abjectly superstitious as it might appear; that the custom was old in China, and the tumult was not merely for the repulse of the devils but also for the encouragement of the sick man; that in a land where "saving face" meant everything, the demonstration was a sign that the patient stood

well with his neighbors and that they were doing all they could to help him. Nevertheless the belief in the demons gave meaning to the demonstration. At another time I saw a Chinese go into what one might call a Chinese drug-store and ask, according to the report of my interpreter, for a medicinal potion containing some trace of the body of some spirited animal, in order that the spirit and vigor of the animal might relieve his weakness. A distinguished American doctor to whom I related this incident gave me a qualifying consideration to reflect upon. He pointed out that, conceding all the absurdity of remedies such as that which the debilitated Chinese asked for in the store, the Chinese physicians are wonderfully skillful in ministering to their patients psychologically; that China is a land where most physical disorders have a mental root in a form of fear of a demon or other uncanny power; that the physicians are beyond all others consummate in the tactfulness and skill of their approach to a sick man's mind, that they can touch, as one releases a spring, the will of a disheartened sufferer and let loose in him the determination to live, and though the Chinese mind is ridden with hallucinations, the Chinese physicians have worked out through the centuries an incomparable technique for ministering to minds diseased.

All of which we most gladly admit, to the honor

of the Chinese physician, but it only makes more evident the hold which a depressing view of the universe has taken on the Chinese mind. It has been the mistaken fashion in some circles to speak as if non-Christians are not more likely to take their beliefs seriously than are hosts of those dwelling in Christian lands. It may seem a strange social phenomenon, but it is nevertheless true that there is probably more religious practice, such as it is, in non-Christian lands than in Christian, for the development of religion, especially in Protestantism, has for four centuries led to the increasing limitation of religious effort to the inner, more personal, realm and to the consequent secularization of many of the more inclusive social activities. It is noteworthy also that Christianity lays emphasis upon a moral ideal which seems to many so far out of reach that they make no considerable effort to reach it. With the non-Christian, on the other hand, religion may touch all phases of daily existence, because in most such religions the world is full of spirits which must be kept in good humor. The schemes worked out for getting on with the spirits are intricate beyond description; and since the spirits themselves are not especially moral, the approaches to the spirits are not necessarily moral. In a word, the world in which the man we used to call heathen lives and moves and has his being keeps

him in a condition of day-long and night-long fear.

Those who tell us that believers in non-Christian religions should not be disturbed in their beliefs do not always realize the implications of such advice, for the outcome of many of those beliefs is fear, fear so paralyzing that in the end it lowers physical vitality and makes seed-beds for disease. Non-Christian religions as interpreted by poets—the poets often residing outside the non-Christian land—may be appealingly beautiful, but those religions observed as bodies of practices carried on by millions of people every hour of the day are quite another matter. Mr. C. Delisle Burns has told us how, in a cholera epidemic in Canton, floats were drawn through the city representing the cholera devil yielding to attacks of scalding water. Whoever planned that maneuver is entitled to credit for shrewdness, but the stratagem is not enough for the long battle ahead for China in her strife with epidemics. When we think of Africa, our imaginations fail us if we try to attain to any appreciation of the weight of fear which rests on the multitudes harried by witchcraft. In *Huckleberry Finn* Mark Twain makes the Negro slave Jim say that as he slept the witches seized him and rode him through the air till he was sore from their saddles. The soreness was real enough to Jim, and it is real enough to witch-ridden interpretations of the world in

which the African millions live. An immediate need even of the sick bodies of such peoples is to hear that good news of God which conquers fear by the revelation of a friendly universe. Everybody admits today the significance of mental states for physical well-being. On the basis of that admission alone there is abundant reason for preaching the Christian view of God and man.

II

MORE WEALTH

The traveler from outside in one of the larger non-Christian lands—China, India or Africa—is at first struck by the number of diseased and otherwise physically distressed persons that he sees. Even if his commission is to give his whole time to preaching the gospel, he feels that he must find opportunity somehow to help relieve the suffering. He does not get far into the work of such relief before he realizes that he is working with inconceivably poor people. His task may indeed be a ministry to the more favored, but such posts are few; and whatever his post, if he takes seriously his duty toward those among whom he works, he must find poverty the severest limitation upon his efforts. The sicknesses which he meets come in noticeable degree from poverty. There is not food enough of the quality to build up strength against the onslaughts of hostile physical forces.

No matter how deeply the preacher or teacher may take the responsibility to proclaim his religious message, he must again and again put everything aside to help find something for his people to eat. The Christian may be altogether helpless in aiding

the sick, for he may not have even the most rudimentary knowledge as to how to treat a disease, but if he has any food at all, he must share it if he is to have peace with his conscience. His difficulty is not much lightened, however, by his personal sacrifices, the need is too widespread for that; and if he lowers his own vitality his usefulness is soon gone, except as he may be remembered as a kindly and benevolent soul who wore himself out in love for his fellow-men. Sooner or later the problem in the large will reveal itself to him. If anyone thinks this is a new angle from which to approach world evangelization, let me say that it is the view which gospel workers have from the first been urging upon the Christian church. I have been listening to missionary appeals for half a century, and the vast majority of the addresses which I have heard have intentionally or unintentionally allowed the hearers glimpses of direst poverty. Bishop Thoburn, speaking chiefly out of experience in India, used to say that in his judgment the majority of the members of the human race had lain down to rest at night after every day of the world's history without having known throughout a single twenty-four hours the satisfaction of having enough to eat. Feasting unto gorging there is always, here and there, but the bishop was speaking of the majority of men and of the majority of days, and his con-

tention was that the majority have always lived in non-Christian conditions. It is a sobering reflection that the dominating feeling in the consciousness of the human race throughout all history has been the dull ache of hunger, present half-consciously at least.

CHRISTIAN MATERIALISM

Now for the sake of those who think that all this talk of poverty, of the lack of material things, is putting the cart before the horse, let us get some things straight at the outset. One of the most striking single utterances at the Jerusalem conference was that of Bishop Temple of Manchester, now Archbishop of York, to the effect that Christianity is the most materialistic of all religions in the sense of finding the most place for matter. Something of the same idea is formally developed in *The Philosophy of Personalism* by Professor A. C. Knudson. We may just as well get this point defined before we go any further. Materialistic secularism is the foe which all peoples everywhere must fight, especially in the next half-century. Materialism may be of many faces. We ordinarily think of it as arising from too much matter, but there is a materialism of too little matter. Whatever forces material into too large a place in men's thinking is materialistic—and this result can be brought about by too little matter as certainly as

by too much. Take food as illustration. A gross materialist would be the man who thought always of eating. The glutton who looks forward to dinners as chances to stuff himself, and the epicure who looks forward to them as opportunities to titillate a delicately pampered palate, are both materialists of a low order. On the other hand a man who has so little to eat that he is always thinking of eating is a materialist. Waking or sleeping he is hungry, and hunger forces into his consciousness too much consideration of matter. So also with clothes. If a man has so few clothes and those in such poor repair that he is always chilled or is always thinking of how he looks, he is a materialist —though not like his rich brother, of his own choice. He is brooding over food and raiment not because he chooses to but because he has to. If a man earns only a few pennies a day he is likely to be materialist in his standards, because his few pennies bulk too large in his scale of values. By the fact that the less we have of money the more important becomes what money we do have, the dwindling of the material which we own may make us materialistic in the aims we set up for ourselves and for our judgment of our fellows.

One of the speakers at the Jerusalem conference who hailed Gandhi as possibly the greatest human being alive today, went on in the next breath to

declare that Gandhi falls short of Christianity in his view of matter, any attempt to deny or flee from the material world for the sake of the spiritual being utterly un-Christian. If this is Gandhi's attempt, it is indeed out of harmony with Christianity, though before passing judgment we should remind ourselves that possibly Gandhi's anti-material attitude is more a form of protest against the gross materialism of so-called Christian civilization than a form of philosophy. Christianity itself aims at the fullest and best life for men, and such life makes impossible any proposed flight from the material world. To begin with, such flight is itself impossible. We cannot live here the existence of disembodied spirits. We cannot hold to a spiritual religion of such implications. The most exclusively spiritual faculties we have depend for their working upon nerve tissue, and such specialized tissue depends upon the health of the physical body of which it is an organ, and the health of the body depends upon the material surroundings in which it is placed. Body has an effective way of reporting its protests when it is ignored. We may refer again to food. A man might seek to exalt spirit over matter in the midst of a gluttonous generation by fasting down to a minimum which would barely keep him alive, but his self-denial would defeat its own object by forcing him to think too much

about food. The ideal would be a relation to bodily conditions such that those conditions would not intrude themselves into the consciousness at all. The best eyes, hearts, stomachs, hands and feet, nerves, are those which serve mind so thoroughly as never to call attention to themselves, and we develop them not by taking them as ends in themselves, or by ignoring them, but by training them under the laws which mean mastery and control. One of the most curious of all heresies in Christianity has been the tendency to place spirit over against matter, to take the visions of half-starved ascetics as revelations of the divine, to praise as saints those who have, it may be by incredible and inhuman struggles with what they call the flesh, allowed entirely normal powers to atrophy. Here again, of course, all this is intelligible enough, construed as protest against the paganism which practically deifies natural impulses and bows down to them and worships; and much paganism, for example the old Baal systems, has been of this order. In between the religions which would deny matter outright and those which would deify and worship natural and "fleshly" impulses, stands the Christianity which would neither deny the material nor worship it, but which would seek to control it for the highest and best life of men.

NON-CHRISTIAN FORCES AND OVERPOPULATION

We must, before we get through, lift this question up to a plane beyond a mere subsistence level, but let us look a little further at the fact that the race as a whole is much of the time hungry. A hundred years ago an English clergyman named Malthus argued that the human race, like other orders of earthly organisms, will increase in numbers up to the level set by the possibilities of subsistence; that at the subsistence level nature sets to work countervailing forces which tend to keep the numbers down—forces such as that of famine due to crop-failures and floods, followed by wars and pestilence and aided by such human devices as infanticide. This doctrine was received with something resembling horror, and then with the complacency of an adjustment which seemed to English employers of a century ago to relieve them of any responsibility for the lot of their workers. For this attitude Malthus himself was not in the least responsible, since he felt and avowed that the worst evils could be avoided by a raised standard of living, marriage at a later period, and moral self-control.

The problem stated by Malthus has not been solved, and the substantial soundness of many of his positions is, if anything, clearer today than when he wrote. We cannot satisfactorily meet the distress of the world's hunger by dividing up

more equitably what we now have, though a more equitable system of division is indeed one of the major needs of our civilization. We must keep on producing, but of what avail will enlarged production be if population so increases with the increase of food that relatively the factors remain as they have always been? Must we rely on a remorseless nature to keep the numbers down? This prospect is too horrible to contemplate. Dr. James W. Bashford, for thirteen years bishop of the Methodist Church in China, once told me of his experience in trying to get food supplies to sufferers in the valley of the Hwang-ho River at time of flood. Though a large sum of American money, about $200,000, I think, was available for getting food to the starving, the food was not moved promptly, and Bishop Bashford set out to learn why. The trouble was not that officials were expecting bribes, as had been cynically suggested, or that they were callously indifferent to distress. It went deeper than that. The bishop at last found his way to the presence of a high official more responsible than anyone else for the delay, and secured his consent to forward the goods, but only after an overwhelmingly frank statement from that official to the following effect, namely, that he was not indifferent to human suffering but that he had to recognize that in times of plenty the Chinese population

increases to a point beyond the capacity of the land to support it. For a long time all that Bishop Bashford could get from the official was a melancholy shake of the head—and the dreadful words: "There are too many of us. The river helps to keep the balance. I cannot interfere." Though the official did finally help in the relief, his comment sounded sadly in Bishop Bashford's memory in all the after years.

Now the explanation that this official and other Chinese of all classes are by nature dead to human suffering falls far, far short. It will not hold. In the days when exposure of infants was more common than now, missionaries bore witness to the terrible agony of mothers who were compelled to part with their girl children. So-called non-Christian peoples are not by nature more lacking in kindliness than other peoples, but the commonness of a tragedy dulls the feeling even of onlookers after a while, and the onlookers from Christian lands become dulled with astonishing rapidity. Over all and under and around all is the inevitable, irresistible economic pressure. What seems to us like cold-bloodedness is, in the judgment of the Chinese, absolute necessity; and if we are tempted to a mood of scorn, let us remind ourselves, as I remarked in the last chapter, that the Chinese have accomplished a tremendous social feat in human

history—four thousand years of continuous integrity as a racial and political unity. They have worked out a scheme of living together which does work. As we make suggestions about that scheme in the name of both the human and the divine values, let us never forget that we have to do with an organism which has kept more people alive, over a given tract of the earth's surface, for a longer historic period than any other has ever done, a consideration which by itself ought to beget in us a due modesty and reticence in the presence of Chinese institutions. Certainly the burden of proof here is upon those of us from the outside.

Yet the truth remains that there are too many people in China for China's resources, and it is our task, as the laborers for a worldwide church, to ask how far the overpopulation comes out of any un-Christian or anti-Christian forces. I am not sure that Malthus had the whole truth in his doctrine that the human race increases up to a limit through the operation of natural powers of increase, if by natural he meant merely physical or instinctive propensities, though Malthus's treatise, considered in connection with the limits of knowledge in its time, was one of the most strictly scientific works which has ever come from the pen of man. Let us look at China as a country in which other than purely physical forces contribute to

pushing the population up to an extraordinary total. It would be easy to show the pressure of similar non-physical forces in other lands, but we start with China. The all-pervasive religion in China is ancestor worship. Now ancestor worship presses daily upon the life of at least three hundred and fifty million Chinese, and in its unremitting pressure is something quite other than that reverential regard for the past which poetically minded tourists represent it as being. It is an actually working power, as potent as the air the Chinese breathe. The ancestors who have died are not dead, they have passed into another existence in which their wants must be met by the attentions of the descendants still on earth. With the Chinese, the things that are not seen are indeed more powerful than the things that do appear. An actual belief in personal immortality counts day by day more with the Chinese than with Christian peoples. The departed, living in a sphere in which they are still dependent upon the attentions of their sons and grandsons and great-grandsons in this earthly realm, have all the weakness which comes out of such dependence, and all the strength which arises from close touch with the higher powers of that other realm where the ancestors dwell. Therefore it is important for the Chinese to have sons. Ancestor worship is thus one of the causes of the land's over-

population. Mr. Mallory, a careful scientist, writes in *China, Land of Famine:*

"In spite of the tremendously high death rate, particularly of infants, due to lack of modern medical knowledge; in spite of the depopulating effect of terrible famines and in spite of the immense loss of life caused by civil wars, we find today a denser population on the plains [of China] than ever before; and since there has been no appreciable influx from other countries, we must ascribe the present conditions to the excessively high birth rate.

"Reasons are not far to seek. In the first place, a study of the comparative birth rate of various classes in other countries shows that it is the uneducated, laboring population that is the most prolific. Since the professional classes are but an infinitesimal part of the total population, this fact alone would have a large bearing on the situation. But it is necessary to look deeper for the cause of the present conditions in the Orient, for even the casual foreign observer who resides in China is impressed with the large families of those who occupy the highest places both in official and intellectual circles. Leaders of modern Chinese thought who have spent years in the West and who have been educated in foreign universities return to their homeland to raise families limited in size only by the physical fitness of the parents. So it is very

evident that there is some compelling force making for reproduction, a force superior to the dire effects of overpopulation and the pitiful economic poverty of the great masses.

"This force is the necessity of providing sufficient male children so that, in spite of the ravages of disease, accident, wars, pestilence, or famine, at least one will survive to carry on the family name and perform the necessary duties required by ancestor worship, the universal religion of the country. No one not intimately acquainted with China realizes how deeply rooted in the individual Chinese is the Confucian doctrine of worshiping those who have gone before. An elaborate ritual has grown up through the ages around this practice, and it is only the male descendants who are qualified to perform the necessary rites. . . . A concrete example of the hold which ancestor worship has on the people is the case of the cathedral congregation of a large mission in central China who importuned the bishop to grant permission for the erection of ancestral tablets in the church. This was accorded and many tablets are now installed, but the spirit which prompted their erection was far deeper than the wish merely to preserve the memory of some loved one, which is the guiding motive in the West."

Surely a believer in Christianity has a right to work against the artificial forcing upward of the

birth rate. It has been said that Roman Catholicism lays more stress than any other Christian system upon the duty of large families among the believers, maintaining that even if children are born into a stern earthly lot, that lot is insignificant as compared with the possible blessings of eternity, and that it is the duty of the church to increase the sum total of human happiness by welcoming large families into its membership. But the immeasurable distance between the assumptions of Catholicism, which admittedly takes the lead in Christianity in approving a high birth rate, and the practice of ancestor worship appears at a glance. The Roman Catholic Church insists strenuously upon the sanctity of the monogamous family relationship, standing, as does hardly any other church in our times and in any time, like a wall against divorce. By the practice of celibacy for priests and some other types of church workers, this church admits that there are some spiritual interests higher than the rearing of offspring. Now the Chinese protest that charges of polygamy and concubinage against them are overdrawn, and doubtless they are. In a study of four thousand coolie families Dr. William Lennox found almost no polygamy. In fact, polygamy may go hand in hand with a decreasing birth rate, as in Africa. Nevertheless a primary obligation in any system of ancestor worship is the begetting of

sons, and this religious system, moreover, becomes responsible for a condition in which the woman is too exclusively a bearer of children, and girl infants are from birth discounted as not worth as much as boys—a view making justifiable the virtual sale of girls upon the best terms possible.

Without sanctioning accusations which Chinese rightly resent as unjust and slanderous, the truth seems established that China is overpopulated, when her food resources under present agricultural methods are taken into the account, and that one cause is her religious doctrine of ancestor worship. We have to do here with something other than, or more than, that impersonal play of physical factors which Malthus described. Conceding all possible importance to such material factors, we must say that in China they are reinforced by powers set to work and kept at work by mistaken religious ideas, ideas which Christianity labors to correct. The adoption of modern sanitation, which prolongs life, without the abandonment of ancestor worship, which keeps up the high birth rate, will make the Chinese population problem more critical.

FATALISM AND POVERTY

Again, many of the densely populated lands which present a challenge to the Christian gospel lie under the tropics or are the scene of the workings of

elemental natural forces which induce fatalism. India's multitudes are terribly poor. It has been said that one of the most distressing features of famine in India is the dumb acquiescence of doomed thousands in what seems to them to be a decree of fate. The reasons for this submissiveness are obvious enough. In the tropics, nature seems to go her own way, brooking only in the slightest degree interference by man. The continual heat depresses the higher energies, so that the mood of acquiescence is always close at hand. That prolonged brooding of which we hear so much as the characteristic of Indian thinking is not always to be conceived of as alert and quick mental activity. It may be, often is, a drooping, drowsy relaxation of all that mental concentration which suggests sharpness and precision. When we examine the fatalism of a race in a lower stage of culture, such as the fatalism of the African, we find the daily life is depleted by constant preoccupation with swarms of divinities whose favor has to be won and kept. In seeking to bring fatalistically inclined peoples to the life which abounds in Christianity, the teaching of a new view of the world is fundamental, but it must be interpreted and given force by demonstration that the view which centers around Christ can be made to bring a better and fuller life for human beings here and now.

The control of those tropics in which live so many of the millions who belong to Christ as truly as do the dwellers in less remorseless climes, is a task for all of that civilization which we like to believe can be both scientific and Christian. The problem cannot be solved on an exclusively individualistic basis. If the church conceives it to be its duty just to help individuals as individuals in India and Africa, it can indeed bring happiness to any victim by showing him that the Power back of the universe is not blind fate but open-eyed love, and that this life is not all. But this life is something, even if it is not all, and the contradiction between inner riches and outer want after a while makes itself felt to the most trusting heart. I am not now passing on the general question of the soundness of England's policies in India and Egypt, but there can be little question that the railways of India and the Nile reservoirs of Egypt are mighty safeguards against famine, and enterprises like these must be socially carried through in the name of the Christian ideal of humanity.

Some years ago I picked up a magazine and found my attention arrested by the odd title of one of the articles, "The Rich Man's Heaven and the Poor Man's Hell." The article was a travel sketch describing a journey on foot for the few miles necessary to walk the entire breadth of a diminutive

island in the Caribbean Sea. The path led through a district altogether tropical in its luxuriance. In the depths of that jungle the traveler heard a sentence in English called out to him, and, looking to one side, saw a woman in the doorway of a dilapidated hut a few rods from the path. The traveler stopped and the woman showed herself to be almost famishing for a little conversation in her native Indiana speech. It appeared that her husband had been misled by the glowing offers of a promotional agency dealing in tropical fruits, and had sold his Indiana farm and bought what had been pictured as a small plantation for the growing of bananas. There seems to have been little doubt that the few acres of jungle which he bought could prolifically raise bananas, but the unhappy newcomers had not counted on the desperateness of the war to be waged against the jungle, which like a living monster seemed set upon slowly but inexorably running over and choking out every trace of toil. The paths were overgrown, the fence covered up, the hut itself all but smothered, the man and woman worn down by malaria. The trouble was that the two did not have enough of anything—not enough labor, not enough tools, not enough money.

"Surely," said the traveler to himself as he walked on, "this island, extravagant as it is in its profusion of growths, is a poor man's hell." In an hour or

two he came to the end of his journey, to the home of a friend who was expecting him. The contrast between the hut in the jungle and the home of the friend was complete. Screened porches, scores of workers, electric railways, the latest inventions in machinery, a wharf and steamships, made the conquest of the jungle seem like a holiday sport. "Surely," said the traveler, "the tropics are the rich man's heaven."

Now this illustration epitomizes after a fashion the conditions of success for any attack on the material surroundings in which millions of human beings live, and live according to beliefs which are in part the outcome of the physical environment. Back of the successful conqueror of the jungle of the Caribbean island was capital, and no one disputes the power of capital, nor its possibilities of use for the good. The quarrels about capital today have to do with its ownership or control—whether individuals, or small groups, or the whole of society shall direct its use. Capital means organization—tools, labor, credit so marshalled as to control sources of production. The attack by scientific civilization on the conditions that make for fatalism, carried through with a consciousness of responsibility for the significant human values involved, can succeed. If men acquiesce in the processes of what seem the vast impersonalities of

nature, they will become mere cogs and wheels in nature itself, almost vegetating growths from which the signs of higher life have vanished. Fatalism is a symptom of such vegetating experience. If, however, the forces of civilization are mobilized to control those fearfully powerful elements which touch the lives of millions in conditions which suggest fatalism, enough success can be won to offset the fatalism.

Take a most extreme suggestion. Emerson once said that coal is portable climate. We use artificial heat today so much as a matter of course that we do not stop to think that by the simple expedient of warming our houses, the temperate climes have been pushed toward the poles to an astonishing degree. The state of Maine in winter hardly belongs to the temperate zone, except in a warm house. Men by the hundreds of thousands now live in sections of North America which to the early European settlers seemed practically uninhabitable. The general creation of coolness in the houses of those dwelling in tropic lands—such as is now a fact among the more favored dwellers in the Philippines—may not seem an impossible task a few decades hence. To speak of cooling down the tropics would obviously be absurdity, but the application of mechanical energy to create coolness in houses, especially at night, is not at all absurd.

If our imaginations balk at this suggestion, we certainly cannot deny the present-day success in the conquest of the forces that so prey upon men's vitality as to deprive them of initiative. Yellow fever is all but defeated, and malaria is no longer invincible. The general level of human economic effectiveness can be lifted to make possible the release not only of more energy but finer. Scepticism today as to all such possibilities does not chiefly concern the physical aspects. It is generally agreed that the diseases and the depressing influences of hot lands can be brought under control sufficient to lift from the souls of men who dwell in them the dead weight of fatalism. A Christian civilization can solve this problem.

PROFIT-SEEKING AND SOME OF ITS CONSEQUENCES

A capitalistic civilization engages in altruistic enterprise as a by-product. Capitalistic leaders are always glad to talk of humanly beneficial results of their work, but such talk is a good deal like the posters which call upon young men to enlist in the navy for the sake of opportunity to travel. No doubt some men who serve all their lives in a navy travel most of their time, acquiring respectable totals of knowledge about all lands that can be reached by a ship, but travel is certainly not the object of a navy. The mainspring of the capital-

istic system as we know it is profit. The Jerusalem conference, having in mind the particular tasks set to the church in the worldwide preaching of the gospel, declared that the profit motive in a civilization of which Christianity is a feature is in need of sincere and earnest Christian scrutiny.

What is profit? The term is used so loosely today that some readers of newspapers and magazines get the notion that profit means anything that one gets for doing anything, and that the members of the Jerusalem conference, for example, raised questions about the right of those who put forth economic effort to be paid for that effort. That is not the sense in which the term was used at Jerusalem. Barring the doctrines of Utopia-builders, those who call for the scrutiny of profit today would make allowance for the deduction from the income received by an industrial enterprise of wages, of a reasonable interest payment for the use of capital—which at bottom means the use of tools or instruments—, of earnings of management, of insurance against risk. What is left? In an industrialized society there may be nothing left, or there may be considerable left, because of the possibilities of money-making due to the organization of society itself; to the fact that people live together, create markets, build roads, and provide for social stability and security. If society should take

for itself what is left over after all these charges have been met, its right to do so could not be questioned, though the wisdom of such a course might be open to challenge. Indeed society throughout Christendom usually allows profits—after taxation—to go to private pockets on the ground that incentive to initiative is encouraged.

Now consider what happens when the capitalism of a highly developed nation takes for its field of investment an undeveloped foreign territory. The possibilities of profit are due not to the social stability of the undeveloped people with whom contact is made, but to their social instability, which means that capitalism can do about as it pleases. The exploitation which is likely to follow may take any one or all of three courses. First there may be the appropriation of the natural riches of the land, which is not advanced in social organization. Historically we have heard a great deal about the quest for gold. Professor Emerson D. Fite has a moving passage in his school history of the United States about the scene when the natives of America stood on the shores to receive the ships of Columbus, the dark-skinned dwellers in the Western land never suspecting the doom sealed for them when Columbus dropped his anchor, and even being ready to hail the fair newcomers as gods. In some respects that twelfth day of October, 1492, was one of the

most glorious in the history of the race; in other respects it was one of the darkest. Almost within a generation the population of what we know as the West Indian islands had been wiped out, with only one voice, that of Las Casas, raised in serious protest. The same civilization that produced Columbus produced Las Casas; both were sons of the church, both heroes of gigantic stature, so that both must be taken into view in any judgment as to the impact of their civilization upon the new land.

I am, however, now thinking of the exploitation not so much of the people as of the natural riches. The Spaniards were frankly in search of gold. Suppose they could have taken the gold without touching a hair of the head of an Indian. Probably the gold would have done more good in supplying an increased medium of exchange to a Europe whose monetary circulation, according to some, was in danger of "freezing," than by lying inert and idle in Peruvian or Mexican palaces—if they were palaces. Or, if that question is academic, suppose we look at the modern doctrine which is given the seductive title, humanity's right of eminent domain, the doctrine being that the material goods of this earth belong by the highest moral equity to those who can use them best. The argument is that just as a community has a right to take for its own

use lands for roads and public buildings, so humanity has a right to seize riches for the life of mankind as a whole. The accident that Mexicans happen to belong to a soil in the depths of which are marvelous pools of oil, does not justify civilization's allowing that oil to lie untapped in an age when oil is the surpassing form of power. If the dwellers on lands that can produce tropical fruits for nations which are willing to buy the fruit cannot or will not cultivate the fruit, they should in one way or another be induced or compelled to get out of the way of those willing to cultivate.

All this may seem quite convincing when thus put. The general welfare of humanity should always have the right of way, but whose is the voice and authority of humanity? Is the voice of oil companies in the United States the voice of humanity saying what should happen to Mexico's oil? Let us make all the concessions possible as to the difficulties in handling a question of this order. Let it be admitted that Mexico is not herself equipped to get out oil and to dispose of it advantageously. Let it be conceded that a big share of the oil goes to Mexico as taxes; that if more went, it might only be wasted by extravagant or unskilled public officials; that the United States and Europe can put oil to better uses than can Mexico. Still, oil companies are dubious agents of the better

opportunities of humanity. When all is said, and all reasonable charges are paid for the getting of the oil into use, there is still oil that can be put under the head of profits in that it resembles "findings," and the doctrine to which we are asked to subscribe is summed up in the school-boy adage, "Findings is keepings." Here is the nub of the trouble in the relation of industrially forward to industrially backward nations, that the forward nations are looking for returns that are "findings," returns utterly out of proportion to the total efforts put forth in the search for them, and accruing to only a fraction of the people. To whom, then, should the "findings" belong? If we had a unified Christian public opinion on this point we could say with more assurance what the demands of humanity are.

For long centuries force entered into the making of trades between men. Then gradually dealers came to see that there should be two gainers to every trade—two sides satisfied. The next step was to show that there must be three satisfied parties, the general public being the third, for the two traders themselves might be satisfied with a transaction which was bad for the community. So in the commerce of national groups. We have, let us hope, got beyond the stage when a strong nation will seize outright the material goods of a weak group, though this policy is even now occasionally

advocated by some robust jingo who regards his own nation as the instrument of God, or destiny, commissioned to care for the welfare of the human race. The current doctrine is that the two groups must be satisfied, but are the groups qualified to deal with one another on terms of equality? It was formerly the practice, perhaps in spots still is, for European investing companies to get hold of the land of Africans, for example, at a price in objects satisfactory in value to the African but ridiculously cheap to the European, and though the grosser absurdities of the practice now belong to the past, the advantage is yet with the European in most bargainings with native tribes like those of Africa. We may well be thankful for a growing international sentiment throughout the world which insists that the best way to care for the general interests of humanity is to have regard especially for the less favored peoples, by ensuring that enough of the riches of their own lands go to them to provide the basis of their best possible progress.

The contradiction between the gospel preached by the Christian in so-called non-Christian lands and the principles practised by wealth-seekers from the land from which that Christian comes has not, however, shown itself more sharply in the pursuit of the material riches themselves. Probably the Indians of the West Indies and of Mexico and Peru

would not have complained so bitterly if the Spaniards had taken all the gold they could get their hands on and then had sailed away. Quite likely the natives of South Africa never would have troubled themselves if the Europeans could have taken the diamonds without touching the people themselves. Possibly the dwellers in various tropical countries today would not raise much question if the Europeans would themselves cultivate tracts in the tropics for bananas and rubber, though the alienation of the African land from the African peasants reduces them to virtual slavery. The clash and the outrage and the woe have arisen over the white man's exploitation of the labor of the less developed races. This has been true from the beginning and is true now.

There have been those who have declared that the contact of the so-called Christian races with the races of color has up to the present hour caused more distress than it has relieved. I do not know how we could ever reach a fair judgment in a question like this, but we may at least admit the challenge in the statement. May I be allowed to speak at what may seem like disproportionate length of an historic instance, historic both in the sense of being finished and in the sense of having an undying suggestiveness. Think of the extermination of whole tribes of natives of America by the Spaniards. The

dreadful book by Las Casas on the destruction of the Indies is of course inexact as to figures—the sixteenth century did not know anything about statistical precision—but the picture is admittedly true in the main. The Spaniards did not slay the Indians out of wanton cruelty, but as a result of reliance on force in compelling them to work. If we are tempted to condemn the Spaniards as hypocrites in their justifying the enslavement of the Indians on the ground that, even so, the Indians were receiving the benefits of Christianity, let us cast that temptation out of our minds forthwith. To the Spaniard of the sixteenth century heaven and hell were realities. Nobody can read through their diaries and intimate letters without seeing that all ranks conceived of the after-life as thoroughly real, many of them accepting entirely the implications of the Christian teaching that at the final judgment all earthly distinctions as to grade and position will disappear before God. Now the conclusion that, in the light of the possibility of a blessed hereafter which the Indians would miss altogether except through the preaching of the Spaniards, it made little difference what happened to the Indians here and now, is incredible to us, but it seemed logical enough to the Spaniards. Our judgment of the attitude of the Spaniards must be that they took, with a serious literalness which our

sceptical age cannot understand, heaven and hell as material existences. We are not speaking with supercilious condemnation of Spain, then, when we mention her cruelty.

Severe, however, is a weak word to describe Spanish dealing with the Indians. As long as there was any prospect of gold, the Indians were compelled to hunt for it. As soon as traces of it were found, the Indians were forced to dig mines. After the possibilities as to gold had been exhausted and the permanent holding of the new world by Spain had nevertheless been determined upon, the land was divided among the Spaniards who had ventured across the sea. The division would have been of no avail if a normal allotment of laborers—to all intents and purposes slaves—had not gone with each parcel of land. If there had been no suggestion of gold, or later of silver, the requirements of the Spaniards would notwithstanding have been exhausting to the natives. One detail which Las Casas mentions is the never ending astonishment of the Indians at the mass of food the Europeans would consume. The Indians had to work harder to feed the Spaniards than they ever worked to feed themselves, which meant that the Spaniards were an extra burden in every way greater than the Indians had ever carried. Here again there were some gains to be set down for the Indians to the credit of the

Spaniards, especially after the destruction of the island tribes. The dwellers on the mainland could not be destroyed outright, for the continent was too vast to permit the tribes to be penned in a corner, and after a while adjustments came about which provided for firmer security in the relations of Indian groups to one another, and therefore for better economic stability than they had enjoyed before the coming of the Spaniards. Las Casas often referred to the Indians as "lambs," but one or two admissions which he perhaps unconsciously made indicated that when Indian tribes took prisoners from one another the fate of the prisoners was worse than anything the Spaniards would ever mete out to them. We have only to think of the human sacrifices among the Mexicans, sacrifices which the Spaniards put down completely, to question the lamb-like qualities which Las Casas detected in those to whom he was devoting his life.

The question of the enslavement of races of color by white races is one phase of the age-old struggle on the part of men in control of superior physical forces to get something for nothing, or for as near nothing as possible. I am anxious not to forget that all such problems must be historically approached. Men find themselves in situations created for them. They do not say, "Go to, now, let us enslave black or red races," but they find them-

selves in positions where they launch upon the most far-reaching courses without realization of what they are about. I have referred to Las Casas's advocacy of the importation of slaves from Africa to the new world to save the Indian tribes from annihilation. Las Casas was one of the ablest, purest-motived, most far-seeing men of his age, and yet he recommended African slavery to take the place of Indian slavery in America. If that could happen in the mind of Las Casas, what might not happen in other minds? Broadly speaking, again, it may be claimed that the peoples of Africa were better off under their slavery to Americans and Europeans than in their relations to one another in Africa itself. Any reader of the journals of Livingstone will recall the haunting fear which he found all through Africa, especially in the epochal journey across the continent—the fear which the villages had of attack by other villages or tribes. Conditions in Africa have never been idyllic.

I set all this down in common fairness. There is astonishingly little ground for belief that we would have done any better than our exploiting forerunners if we had been in their place. Perhaps we would not have done as well. Moreover, if we are sincere in our condemnation of their exploiting, we can bring forth works meet for repentance by seeking to build up today a public opinion which

will make against any exploitation whatever of the labor of non-Christian peoples by the so-called Christian peoples.

FORCED LABOR AND KINDRED EVILS

A remarkable book by Raymond Leslie Buell has recently been published with the title, *The Native Problem in Africa.* The book is an astounding array of facts bearing on all phases of the problem under discussion, and is not, like so many books of the kind, pessimistic. Leonard Woolf's discussion of Africa in *Imperialism and Civilization* is also not without hope. Professor Buell believes that in the present-day impact of industrialism upon African peoples there is a chance to avoid the worst mistakes of the past in other countries, and to achieve something worth while for civilization. The most serious and vexing economic problem, and one which took up a large portion of the time in the discussions at Jerusalem, is that of forced labor. It is certain that the white man cannot work in Africa at physical tasks as can the black man, and without such labor nothing for anybody can come out of Africa. Something has been said for forced labor under the direction of government authorities, for such labor appears in the nature of a tax levied for benefits rendered by governments, but the opportunities for abuse of the system

are equally obvious. There is possibility of too close connection between governmental agencies and the more important organizations of capital, to say nothing of the possibilities of injustice by governments themselves. The Jerusalem conference called for those safeguards around the forced-labor system which experience has shown to be necessary if any regard is to be paid to the human values involved. It appears that the only effective remedy for the evils of the labor problem in Africa is the pressure of an informed American and European public opinion. It appears also that while missionaries are well informed as to abuses, they can do nothing alone—except to get themselves deported—, and that government officials, sometimes eager to act, can do nothing except as pushed by the public opinion of their home lands. What, therefore, is more needed than information—information to be presented to the whole civilized world, exact, continuous, and up-to-date—as to labor conditions everywhere? Under the best circumstances the dark places of the earth, to adapt a sentence from Sidney Webb, are full of cruelty.

When we look at a land like China, we see at a glance what makes it such an object of covetous interest to the West. Exploiters are not chiefly interested in China because of the natural resources. Nobody seems to know what the re-

sources are. We hear something about coal beds of marvelous depth, but we lack definite knowledge about them. If there were not an ounce of coal available in China, the nation would still be the object of intense interest to exploiting capital, and that because of the incalculable labor resources. Millions of laborers, actual and potential, of enormous staying qualities, with low standards of living, make an appeal to profit-seekers of all but irresistible might. The vistas opened up by the industrialization of China are endless. Probably there can be no slowing down of the trends to worldwide industrialization, though we might well stop the process long enough to ask if it would be worth while. Capitalists talk smoothly of the possibilities of China as a nation of consumers. If machines could be introduced, the output would be so tremendous that China's standard of living would rise at once, so we are told—but we must not lose sight of the unemployment which seems thus far to be an inevitable accompaniment of twentieth century industrialism. In that conquest of physical forces which has enabled China to perform the miracle of existing continuously as a racial and political unity for over four thousand years, she has wrought out some methods of surpassing excellence for her own purposes. It is a commonplace that she has learned how to put back

into the soil what she takes from the soil. She has also so ordered her economic system that without developing a stifling caste organization like that of India, she has portioned out her tasks among different workers so that she deals with measurable success with unemployment.

Suppose the machine system were to be introduced all over China before the guards against unemployment have been discovered and applied. In a short time China would be producing enough to supply her own needs. What about the surplus? What if Europe and America refused to take the surplus? Unemployment in China in such event might conceivably prove as bad as a flood of the Yellow River. Gandhi's call to his Indian countrymen to use the spinning wheel is unintelligible to the Western mind, but those calls reveal a discernment of the disruption of Indian industry by European factories, and seek a way out of the awful poverty which seems to have increased with the doing away of the cottage industries with which the Indian farmer added to the income from his little plot of land.

The West has not yet mastered its own machine system. That system has come to stay; it produces goods in better quantity and better quality than any system which preceded it, when the best output today is compared with the best output of any-

thing which came before. We have gone far enough, however, in our experience with the machine to see the immense distance between a hammer wielded in a man's own hand and the hammers of a factory driven by steam. In the one case the man uses the hammer, and in the other the hammer uses the man. Christianity contends for whatever makes for the largest and best life of persons. The Christian standard has yet to be applied to the machine organization. Machine methods have standardized nearly everything, including the organizational activities of Christianity itself. The Chinese laborer, working in a little shop which he himself owns, may seem inefficient as compared with a factory operative. The Chinese stops to talk or smoke every now and again—he takes sixteen hours to do a day's work—and the finished product, not in the case of objects of art or goods of higher grade, but in the case of articles elsewhere usually made by factory machines, may be pronounced remarkable only when we consider the inadequacy of his tools. Yet the Chinese gets a chance at distinctiveness not merely in his product but in himself.

It is said by discerning Chinese that China is about to pass out from medievalism. During the Middle Ages, or rather at the time of Marco Polo, China, on the whole, was probably in advance of

Europe so far as material civilization was concerned. Let us hope that China will not have to repeat all the mistakes of the West as she advances to industrialization. She is and probably must remain largely agricultural, but the possibilities of upset of her social organization by industrialism are appalling. Above all it is to be hoped that Christian public opinion the world over will correct the mistake made at the close of the Middle Ages, the mistake of permitting Christian duty to narrow itself down to the more strictly personal spheres, and of allowing the indispensable daily tasks of life to be secularized through the indifference of the church. If China, for example, is indeed just emerging from medievalism, she ought to have a chance at a Christianity which teaches the social control of all agencies of production in the name of the inviolable sacredness of individuals. If individuals were everywhere taken as thus sacred, a common Christian spirit the world over would prevent the economic invasion of low-wage, low-standard-of-living countries to exploit labor for the advantage of the profit seekers.

Once again, there is a tendency in industrial or commercial leaders of the more favored nations to exploit the intellectual talent or the talent for leadership in the less favored groups. In the old days of the slave trade, the slave-catchers dealt with

African chiefs, or with other leaders who through place or native ability might be in a position of ascendancy. To this day many of those who have to make provision for forced labor in Africa seek to do so through the native chiefs. This appears to be so different from forced labor in the more objectionable forms that by some workers in Africa it is not called forced labor at all. It has the merit of conserving the native social organizations, but we do not have to go very far back in history to discern the enormous injustices possible when native leadership becomes the exploiting tool of foreign capital. In India educated youth get their most lucrative chance in those institutions which are Europeanized, like the law. In China the European- or American-trained Chinese is under temptation to accept place with the organizations of Western industrialism, and while many serve honorably, others go farther in exploiting their fellow-Chinese than outsiders themselves would dream of going. Chinese industrial leaders, whether working on their own or with outside agencies, have not shown any special reluctance against exploiting their own people. They take advantage of the fact that they live in a land where public opinion does not control industrialism to the same extent as in the more industrial lands, and off go the safety devices from the machines, and in comes that pernicious doctrine

of contributory negligence in case of accident, which to my own knowledge has been employed in Shanghai to prevent the relatives of a girl operative killed at her machine in a cotton mill from receiving compensation. The most cogent critics of wage conditions in China that I know of have been American and European engineers and not Chinese. As for India, the most effective device in all history for smothering out economic ambition and initiative is the caste system, a distinctively Indian creation. When a few years ago an Indian youth preached Christianity because the doing away with the caste system would let his people be blacksmiths if they chose, he was thought most unworthy by some Christians, but it is hard to see where the unworthiness comes in. The youth's message did not go very far but it was Christian as far as it went—Christian at least in its recognition of the need of removing artificial hindrances to the free development of all men.

In all our studies we come upon elementary human considerations, not exactly the same the world over, but enough alike to make Christian workers in every land intelligible to one another. The task is a common one, and calls for the impact of a unified Christian public opinion which must spring from a worldwide Christianity. The secularization and paganization of industry are danger-

ous possibilities confronting the whole world, secularization being conceived of as the adoption of standards which leave ethical judgments to one side, and paganization as the virtual deification of worldly success. A victory over secularism in America is a gain for the evangelization of China and India.

Lest the very magnitude of this worldwide problem seem depressing, let me call attention to the part already played by servants of the church in making such surveys of industrial conditions as those conducted by the Young Women's Christian Association of mill conditions in Shanghai; the efforts of agriculturalists like Mr. Sam Higginbotham to introduce more scientific agriculture in India; and the aid of missionary leaders like Dr. A. L. Warnshuis in the struggle of the International Labor Organization against forced labor in Africa. Of course the historic warfare waged by the Christian church against the buying and selling of human beings occurs to the reader at once. The general influence of the monasteries in Europe after the fall of Rome are admitted illustrations of sound missionary effort in seeking to help men gain a larger control over natural environment and nobler views of human life. The problem today is worldwide and immense, but it is not beyond the resources of a determined Christianity.

III

SOUNDER KNOWLEDGE

The Jerusalem conference did not deal with the details of pedagogy, but rather with outstanding Christian principles. In this chapter I wish to look at more general conceptions which the churches must keep in mind, such as the fundamental aims of education, the assumptions on which science proceeds, the tendencies among all races to form world "pictures," the necessity of facing facts, and the peculiarities of human nature which are inescapable.

There can be no doubt of the purpose of the Christian church to spread the principles of sound education wherever it goes. To be sure, there has always been, on the part of some Christians, question as to just how educational methods are to be fitted into the Christian idea when that idea lays stress on the supernatural element in experience. In the most advanced lands today we now and again find fear of educational processes as endangering the direct work of the divine spirit in the human soul. The one comment we make on this view is that its holders at once proceed to teach it —which reveals the importance of education in

their thinking. No matter how religious movements begin—and for the most part they have their start in widespread revivals of one form or another —they soon arrive at the stage of reliance on educational method. I do not know of an exception which can be taken to this statement.

The essential test of education everywhere today is the simple question as to what happens to the person who goes to school. There are human results of education which can be studied universally, and such tests must be emphasized whenever schools are judged. John Dewey once said that what any true father desires for his own children in education, the true citizen of a community desires for all the children of the community. Likewise any Christian, in contemplating a world-wide teaching in harmony with Christian principles, desires the best for pupils of schools everywhere.

OUGHT CHRISTIANITY TO DISTURB NON-CHRISTIAN CULTURES?

At the outset of this chapter it is necessary to deal with a current doctrine which protests against any disturbance of the cultural systems of non-Christian peoples. We hear a vast deal today about the "relativity" of educational systems. Educational systems, it appears, exist among all peoples,

and even the animals, through the play of parents with their offspring, teach the young what will serve them best in actual existence which they must face. In tribes far below what we think of as civilized, the bodies of knowledge which in one way or another the elders communicate to the youngsters, are the products of centuries of experience of those tribes in dealing with the conditions of existence, and are the instruments by which the tribes make their adjustments to the stages on which they must play the game of life. Besides, these tribes, even the least important of them, have, we are told, points of view which should not be lost from the total cultural outlook of mankind. One of the most distinguished anthropologists in the United States, a scientist who at severe sacrifice to himself has studied peoples in all grades of social organization, and who has always shown the finest humaneness in his own encounters with them, recently protested to a church official against the attempts to spread Christianity among some of the remoter tribes in Mexico, declaring that such action would destroy cultural elements which the scientific world could ill afford to lose. Another scientist of high standing is reported to have argued in favor of the world's keeping certain tribes—in Africa, I think—intact as objects of study. The ground of justification, in addition to the cultural

values preserved, is that the tribal pictures of the world are adjusted to the tribal needs, and should not be disturbed.

Suppose we look at this claim for a little. To begin with, it leaves the non-Christian's own wishes pretty much out of the reckoning. Nobody is trying today to impose Christianity by force. The argument assumes that we on the outside are to say what this or that tribe shall not have, which is about as bad as saying what it shall have. The most that Christianity asks is that all peoples shall have a chance at the gospel. If a Mexican, scratching the soil with a sharpened stick, prefers that stick to a plowshare, by all means let him have the stick, though I doubt if the representatives of plow factories would withdraw on the ground of a Mexican's first refusal to buy, rather putting their withdrawal on the ground of unwillingness to disturb an ancient culture. If, however, the plow seller as the representative of a machine civilization is to come into the Mexican's life, there is every reason for allowing other representatives of other phases of civilization to come in along with him.

In modern terminology educators speak not of formal principles but of mental pictures as the guiding forces of social groups. Probably this expression is close to the psychological facts. An individual makes for himself a picture of life, and

guides his conduct by what is in his picture. Dean Roscoe Pound, of the Harvard Law School, has observed that even judges in high law courts often decide questions on the basis of their pictures of their world, rather than on the foundation of principles. They may say much about principles, but the principles are likely to be rationalizations of something in the picture. A judge may have a picture of life and society, and a factor which he cannot fit into that picture may stand scant chance of favorable consideration. If this theory holds true with men in advanced stages of culture, how much more true must it be that the thinking of the less intellectually developed is ruled by these pictures.

We delay for a moment around this conception of pictures, and take account of the suggestiveness of the word itself. We value pictures from a double point-of-view: as reports of reality and as expressions of, or projections of, something we may loosely call ideal. Suppose all groups do their thinking in pictures; are there not differences among the pictures? Nobody proposes to deny that the various pictures are relative to various states of development among social groups, but that only emphasizes the fact of the differences. Are not some pictures nearer the truth than others? In the picture held by an African native the sun goes

around the earth. Is there any reason for withholding from the African, on the ground that we ought to preserve his culture, a picture closer to truth than that? We are not going to vex ourselves here with the question as to what truth is, beyond saying that whatever it is, the picture of the universe which thinks of the earth as going around the sun is received better than that of the sun as going around the earth. As to ideals, all sorts of monstrosities have figured in our social pictures. The same argument adduced today for the conservation of cultures would have done service for the continuance of human sacrifice among Mexicans, and, farther back, among the nations around Israel and in Israel. It would have admirably defended suttee and thuggee in India.

Nobody would desire the loss of those cultural elements which proceed out of group experience, but neither should anyone desire the preservation of those features which are not worth while, to say nothing of the preservation of injurious or harmful features. Yet we must admittedly move with care in a discussion of this point. I well remember the shock received by one audience of Christian people thirty years ago when a church leader said of a tribe of Indians in Alaska that the tribe was fast dying out and that the sooner it was all gone the better. The churchman did not propose any hastening of

the process, nor had he a trace of cruelty in his nature. All that he meant was that it would be better if the present generation of those Indians could die without leaving offspring, because of their shiftlessness and hopelessness. Yet the shock felt by the audience had back of it a sound instinct. Degraded as those Indians might be, and inhuman as their tribal practices might be, there must be something worth saving in their lives and culture. In the incident were present two factors: the feeling of the churchman that degrading cultures should die out, and the feeling of the audience that there must be a minimum worth saving. Each view had a portion of truth. I once heard Raymond Robins in a speech say casually something often overlooked but which is packed with meaning—that Christianity is the one religion which never throws anything away.

That remark can be expounded and illustrated almost without end. It draws close to the central doctrine of Christian conversion. The fundamental realities in Christianity are persons—and the problem is so to transform the aims of the persons as to leave the persons the same, and yet make them different through the difference of the goal toward which they now work. The forces that have shown themselves as degradation can conceivably be lifted into forces of exaltation. In the old days

of Israel's history the sacrifice of the first-born by the nations round about meant, as Professor Powis Smith has so forcefully said, that those nations could not be charged with taking their religion lightly. The earnestness laid hold upon many of the devout in Israel, and they let child sacrifice get into Israel. Fathers and mothers who sacrifice their first-born are taking their religion with desperate seriousness. It does not do away with the force of this statement to admit that people who accept and practise such conditions become callous. Callousness does not reach the point where grief over the sacrifice of children loses its dreadful poignancy. Israel met this challenge by an appeal to lift up religious earnestness to humaner, diviner ideals, and by definite effort to teach those ideals. There are no doubt today features of non-Christian civilizations which ought to be preserved. When James Bryce complained that the impact of Christianity in Japan had robbed the world of the continuous production of some rare values, he was not thinking of attitudes toward mankind or toward the universe, but of artistic and æsthetic treasures which a Western civilization makes it difficult to preserve. Such values ought to be preserved, and as a matter of historic fact Christianity has throughout all her career been preserving them.

Dr. Percy Gardner has shown, in *The Growth*

of Christianity, that the history of Christianity can be interpreted as a series of baptisms unto Christ of the institutions which the church has come upon in the various types of civilization which she has encountered. It is impossible to see how Christianity could have gone ahead in any other manner. It baptizes unto Christ all worth-while cultures and world pictures, while introducing standards of value which help all peoples to search always for the best. This introduction of standards of value is one of the chief services of Christian education.

THE SEARCH FOR TRUE MENTAL PICTURES

Educational methods among all peoples—and all peoples have such methods—aim at putting the rising generations in possession of the bodies of knowledge which the leaders of those peoples think indispensable for the welfare of the group. The methods aim also at developing the skill necessary for the uses of the weapons and implements of the group. Here again we confront the difficulty we mentioned in speaking of mental pictures. The problem of education is to bring thinking as close to the truth as we can. Every defender of an educational theory finally argues that his system is nearest the truth, and every theory must at last meet the tests of truth. All our discussion about some systems as being more fitted to practical pur-

poses than others is of little pertinence when the question of concrete fact is up. I once visited a small Chinese city at a time of some religious commotion. It appeared that a Buddhist priest had for years been making claims that food and other offerings placed before an idol were appropriated—as we should say, miraculously—by the idol itself before the next morning. A party of sceptical students kept watch one night and reported that they had seen the gifts disposed of in quite natural ways. Whereupon there was an uproar. Nobody took much pains to deny what the youths reported, but the faithful Buddhists were outraged that such a question had been raised and such a test put, as tending to weaken religion. Now there are realms of religious teaching which cannot be tested by so simple a procedure as watching to see whether or not an idol eats food; but whatever are the standards of truth in a given field, by those must all teachings be judged.

Lest it seem that my Buddhist illustration is brought from too great a distance, let me remind the reader that a few years ago the Mormons in Utah had a controversy, with the State University as a center, in which protests were raging against the doubts thrown on the historical validity of the revelations to Joseph Smith and his associates. The live issue seemed to be not historic fact but the

possible effect on Mormonism of historical investigation. Just before his death Father George Tyrrell, one of the ablest teachers of the last generation, defended the Roman Catholic denial of the scientific teachings of Galileo, maintaining that it was not a denial of them as scientific fact, but as an element tending to undermine the religious values of the church—a defence which would have been most welcome to the church leaders if they had thought of it, though we must not forget that even Huxley declared that in that old-time controversy the church had the best of the argument. If further illustrations are needed we can find them in the widespread unwillingness of too many upholders of all varieties of religious belief to face facts which seem to tell against their beliefs. The fault here, I insist, is not limited to any one land or period. The old story of the Hindu who avowed that he would not touch animal food, and who, perceiving through a microscope some peculiarities of the cheese he was eating, smashed the glass and went on eating, has been supposed to be peculiarly typical of Hinduism, whereas it is true to human nature everywhere. I once knew a delegate to a Methodist General Conference, who was a lawyer and a learned judge at that, to meet a statement of disagreeable social facts by putting his hands over his ears.

Religions, like all other departments of human experience, have to learn to look facts in the face. Except in the most limited degree we do not master disagreeable realities by ignoring them. A teacher might wisely instruct a class of youngsters to pay no heed to the minor distresses of life. Too many of us get a false perspective and even develop a pernicious self-centeredness by paying attention to our insignificant pains, but not all pain is insignificant. So with other disagreeable and intractable features of the existence in which we are placed. Christian education insists that all facts must be faced. The late President Burton of the University of Chicago once referred to Jesus as surpassingly scientific. When asked to explain how Jesus was scientific, Dr. Burton replied, "In his willingness to face facts." Christianity arose on the foundations of a Judaism which faced facts, though both Judaism and Christianity see more in facts than mere common sense would, and draw larger conclusions than common sense can.

ANÆSTHETIC RELIGIONS: THEIR REFUSAL TO FACE FACTS

There are some forms of religion which might well be called anæsthetic, and these forms are not by any means confined to non-Christian lands. But let us begin by looking at some of the systems out-

side of Christianity. We know something of the ceremonies—at times they might be called orgies—with which tribal religions seek to escape from the tedium or the terror of daily life, but suppose we look at something more significant—Hinduism, for example. Speaking just for myself, it has always seemed to me that the secret of the holy man's power in India has lain partly in the fact that his condition of poverty and woe seems to suggest, "You look upon the present order as evil; here is one who has more of woe than you have, and it means nothing to him." The victory is through retreat. The spirit has withdrawn so far from the world that the painful impingement of the world is felt no longer. It would help us here if we could see the Hindu spiritual retreat from the inside, and know the content of the consciousness in retreat. Some acute observers say that there is no content except of the most meager dimensions—that the virtue is in escape from consciousness, an observation which is strenuously denied by other interpreters. To one on the outside there appears to be an uncertainty in the higher forms of India's religious teaching as to whether the final victory over the world means the extinction of the individual self or not. In any event, the Christian method of adjustment to the world through facing the facts of existence is far different from the Hindu method

of retreat. Wherever the doctrine that the actual world is illusion spreads, we have the distortions of thought which it is the object of all systematic educational method to prevent or correct.

Now we come nearer home. The charge is made, especially by leaders of the more radical social movements, that Protestant religion has had an anæsthetic effect in its emphasis on what is often called other-worldliness; that the direct attempt of Protestantism has been to lift the attention off the world which now is and focus it on the world to come; that the result is that men overlook immediate evils in looking over to the heavenly distances. In a measure the charge is just. The writer of these lines happens to be a member of the Methodist Church and has read a good deal of the history of that church. For many decades the standard history of Methodism was that written by Abel Stevens. The work of Stevens consisted largely of the narration of remarkable conversions and other spiritual crises. I have read diaries and letters written by leaders of Methodism who were still under the spell of the first enthusiasm of Methodism, and always the quest was for a deepening of inner personal peace, and that in a world which sadly needed attack and uproar because of the inhuman conditions in which masses of men were living. I know it can be said that no mightier miracle could have

been wrought than that of lifting the eyes of the working classes of England in the eighteenth century off the conditions in which they had to live, but such a marvel was one-sided, nevertheless. Upholders of the evangelical movement maintain that all the current stirrings for the improvement of English society can be traced back to the Wesleyan revival, and perhaps they can, but they do not seem to have been the outcome of any deliberate facing of facts by the leaders of Wesleyanism. Social betterment is so truly of the essence of the gospel that any preaching of the gospel sooner or later sets men to work to save society, without necessarily connecting their social impulses with their religion; but it is of the essence of the gospel also that men should do their work for the Kingdom in open-eyed deliberateness. I intend no criticism on my own part by any of this, for vast historic movements cannot be characterized in easy and sweeping generalization; but I do insist upon the justice of, or at least the reason for, the social radicals' complaint against English Wesleyanism. When it is said that the eighteenth-century revival saved England from the French Revolution, we must exercise a little critical discrimination. The French Revolution in its fundamental point of view was secular if not pagan, but it strove for some elementary human rights which English Christian-

ity, for the time at least, was in danger of not seeing.

I mention the Wesleyan revival for illustration. The tendency, revealed then, so to emphasize inner virtues as to neglect outer conditions, is not yet corrected in Christian circles. The difficulty is not that the church takes a wrong attitude with a purposeful intent, it is that she becomes absorbed in legitimate aims and does not look outside of her own purposes. So true is this that I have known most zealous laborers for the relief of the oppressed or neglected classes in society to protest against the church of which they have been a part, when the church has proposed directly to aid in such social relief. The upshot of all this is that laborers for men's welfare in all quarters of the earth draw the conclusion that the Christian church stands outside the ranks of those seeking to bring about a better world here and now.

This matter is mentioned under the head of education because it has to do with intellectual seeing, with recognition of facts. It does not mean that the church is selfish, or reactionary at heart. It means that Protestantism has so focused its thought on the inner pole that it has blinded men's eyes to the outer, or at least to the bond connecting inner and outer. The social facts must be faced. There is more difficulty today in getting men to

face social facts—I refer to the men standing outside the pinching radius of these facts—than to face any other kind. Many social evils flourish through not being looked at. They are pots which boil best when they are not watched. This is all the more true when conditions that make for wrong do not come out of any wrong purpose, but of their own inherent tendencies. The social injustices of this world are not upon us because any man or men deliberately intend them. They come as the outworking of harmful forces which get their strength when nobody is looking; and after a while selfish men or groups who profit by the evils declare that the evils have always been here, and are inherent in the system of things to which we must adjust ourselves. The remedy is keen-eyed alertness in the study of facts.

We cannot be content with Protestantism as a promoter of inner piety alone, but must take account of it also as an educational force, and we must hold it to its duty of stimulating the observation of facts. We should rejoice in every sign that it is taking seriously this first obligation that rests upon all those who are responsible for the training of lives. Because of this obligation we call attention to the need of caution on the part of some educational institutions which make much questioning of Christian theology and ethics in the

name of exact science, and which nevertheless talk much of the mysticism which they call the heart of religion, a mysticism of which I shall speak in the last chapter. There seems to be in the emphasis placed on worship by these institutions the suggestion of an escape from the earnest and patient study of realities. After effort in a realm which seeks exactness of definition and measurement, it seems like a relief to let the soul roam at will in the undefined—which is well and good, provided that the impression is not given the student that Christianity has to do chiefly with the undefined. It has to do with the defined as well, with the most sharply marked bodies of knowledge, interpreted as revelations of the reality back of all things.

We can commend also the tendencies in religious instruction which today take account of psychological discoveries. We have heard so much about complexes of one sort and another that we are weary of the term, but we must recognize that many false views of the world have a psychological basis, and that open-eyed search for the cause of the complex—provided it escapes the bungling touch of the amateur in psychiatry or psychoanalysis, or the prurient-minded soul-inspector—is a phase of that honesty which is central in Christianity. Anything that brings men to face facts helps the kingdom of Christian truth.

Coming once more to our picture of the world, we urge that the picture should get hold of all the facts, and certainly not knowingly omit any that are significant. From all regions of the earth today we hear that the world views of the non-Christian religions are falling into atrophy through disuse, and yielding to the world views of science. The report comes chiefly from students in universities and no doubt holds true for intellectual circles, though we should have to make large reserve about any such statement as describing the temper of the masses of China and India. Still, there is enough justice in the remark to make us aware that the world views which arise out of the development of science are a prevailing factor in religious thinking everywhere.

WHAT THE SCIENTISTS SHOULD NOT MISS

Many a scientist, reading such a paragraph as this, might say that science does not have world views; that it busies itself only and strictly with concrete data, avoiding all back-lying philosophical questions whatsoever. Inasmuch as the Orient comes near to regarding Western science today as more sacred than anything else coming from the West, and desires to be educated scientifically, it is imperative to hint at one or two major limitations of science. When science forgets that men on the

basis of scientific study make philosophies, or at least think about the universe as a whole, it is ignoring a most significant fact. The most serious charge that can be urged against science today is that much of it does not look at all the facts. The scientific man is likely to be a specialist, and, in spite of himself, to regard life in terms of his specialty, forgetting that there is no method exclusively valid in testing experience.

Science proceeds on assumptions. The scientist may say all he pleases about limiting his thinking to the verifiable, but he cannot get far without assumptions, some of which are made only provisionally. Then, as the scientist goes on achieving valuable results on the basis of his assumptions, he forgets that the assumptions themselves were made provisionally and treats them as if they were basic and eternal verities. To use a grotesque illustration, it would be permissible, if one cared to do so, to speculate on what the planetary system would be like on the assumption that the moon is made of green cheese. Many of the speculations might lead to interesting discoveries about the moon and about green cheese, and the logical processes might be entirely sound. If, however, the astronomer should go on to say that the moon is made of green cheese, the farce would be apparent. I have admitted that this would be a grotesque performance, but I won-

der after all if it is any more grotesque than the performance of many a scientist who, after a perfectly legitimate attempt to discuss and classify facts in the domain of his specialty on the assumption of the supremacy of physical forces, assumes the primacy of those same forces in all domains of existence.

In a later paragraph I wish to mention the charge often urged against Western civilization by the Orient that, through war especially, science has turned its own weapons against itself to destroy itself. Here may I say that a school of scientists, or rather a type of scientist, is today trying to make science destroy itself; not trying intentionally, of course, but nevertheless working in that direction. We have recently been informed by psychologists that their guns are being placed in position to blow to pieces the basis of a religious or spiritual interpretation of the universe as nothing more than a man-made projection without reality of any objective sort whatever. The conclusion here would reach farther than the scientists might like. They are often gleeful in their predictions about the overthrow of spiritual values, but on their own reasoning we may ask why the physical processes are not also a shadow of the mind's own casting. The psychologist, in doing away with the possibility of objective worth in a spiritual philosophy or relig-

ion, may go so far as to do away with the possibility of any kind of interpretation of the outside world. There may be no "outside" left. It will not do to act condescendingly toward an Oriental who believes that the present order is illusion, and allow the scientists to land us in any such emptiness as is here implied. The advantage is rather with the Oriental, who takes the attitude of contempt toward a world like ours and spares himself the bother of studying it.

What a strange spectacle much of this scientific interpretation of the world in physical and impersonal terms is making before the thinking minds of every land! The scientist of this brand starts out with the assumption that with the mind we can measure suns and systems of suns—and then concludes that the mind is nothing, forgetting that a mind which can discover its own limitations and pass sentence on itself cannot successfully rule itself out. I recently read a magazine article by a professed philosopher who was noting with delight the argument of a prominent thinker that there are no universal laws, that we can hardly hold to the idea of law at all. This is about on a par with the teaching of another philosophy that the only true attitude of the free man is a firm basis of unyielding despair.

We smile in somewhat superior fashion at the

world views of Oriental thinkers, but what a fine spectacle science is making of itself in its general world view, as that view is set forth by thinkers of the type indicated, of whom I make mention because they are now so widely quoted in Oriental lands. It is not easy to say how seriously their philosophies are being taken. An exaltation of the human intellect that ends in showing that intellect amounts to nothing, the unresting quest of truth about which all that we can know is that it does not exist, the rapturous embracing of despair, all this must start trains of curious reflections in persons, either of Occident or Orient, who have any trace of humor. Indian thinkers with their contempt of the present existence, and Chinese with their determination to make the most of the present existence, can meet on the plane of asking with regard to the scientist's world picture, what is the use? The Western thinker might reply that the use is the satisfaction of the intellectual pursuit itself; but the satisfaction of finding a basis of despair is not especially worth while. With an outcome like this the Oriental is justified in concluding that satisfaction is a matter of taste, and that he prefers some other form of satisfaction. Mr. Bertrand Russell has told us that the Americanization of China would make China a land of Main Streets with an occasional Chicago. Nobody wants that,

but even that would be better than an unyielding despair, since neither the Main Streets nor the Chicagos would be given over to despair altogether unyielding.

The difficulty has its root in the world picture which the talking scientist rather than the working scientist has told us so much about. There is not enough in the picture, and what there is is out of focus and perspective. Still, there is not much help in argument. The only sound course is to make it clear everywhere that there are other facts and other values and other perspectives. A mind that holds another view of the universe of science is itself a fact, and enough facts of this order, with a juster scheme of values, must in the end be taken account of. How does it happen that a universe which is based on despair creates centers of hopefulness? On the whole the human race is hopeful. It is easier to see how a hopeful universe could have in it individual lapses into despair, than to see how a despairing universe could produce such a mass of hopefulness. It is easier to see how bad got into a good world than how good got into a bad world.

So much space has been given to this theme because we are coming increasingly to see that these world views even in the most narrowly scientific procedures bulk immensely in human thinking,

that in the most matter-of-fact activities they influence powerfully what is done and ways of doing it.

IS THE MATERIAL WORLD TO BE INSTRUMENT OR END?

Education aims at giving the growing generation the general views which determine the conduct of life. It aims also at putting youths in skilled possession of the tools belonging to the social groups. Here again the question from the platform of Christianity is the purpose to which the tools are put.

Some years ago, during a battle in Mexico City in which hundreds of non-combatants were killed in the streets, an Englishman and myself remarked to each other with complacency that such senseless butchery would not be possible among Anglo-Saxon peoples; that only self-controlled nations like ourselves could wisely use the destructive weapons of modern war; that if Latin-American communities wished to indulge in revolutions they should not be allowed access to high-powered explosives but should use bows and arrows. I still think there was considerable force in our observations, but alas, within a year of that date Anglo-Saxons and almost everybody else in the world were divided into hostile camps, killing one another by the hundreds of thousands, making the *decena*

tragica of Mexico City so insignificant that if it had been fought as an engagement of the World War no general would have reported it to headquarters in more than a few lines. I am not singling out Anglo-Saxons for the disparagement once given to Mexico, but I am emphasizing how narrowly all of civilization escaped catastrophe through failure of self-control in the face of the destructive forces which modern science has placed in the hands of the race.

Here let me say that, believing as I do that the possibility of men's living together peaceably on earth is best fostered by the teaching of the Christian world view, I wish nevertheless to be fair enough to say that the nation whose people have thus far achieved the most success in mastering the problem of living together has lain outside the Christian circle. I refer again to China. If we were to seal up China behind a wall today and not let anyone go in or come out for a thousand years and then take down the wall, we should probably find China going on about as now, with a low standard of physical comfort, no doubt, but nevertheless going on. This does not mean that China is by nature a pacifist nation, but it does mean that she has worked out ways by which her people can live together. The only serious threat to China's integrity has been due to her contact with the so-

called Christian nations. Seal up those same Christian nations for a thousand years and then break down the enclosing wall—we might not find anybody left.

The peace question, which I shall not take up at any length here, is being abundantly discussed in almost every quarter. At Jerusalem it appeared that even more fundamental than this question of war as such was that of the appeal for peace which a secularized civilization is now making among all nations and peoples. Some inherent contradictions have appeared in the material aspects of this civilization. Ordinary common sense would seem to indicate that the more material goods we have the richer we are in a material sense, yet the fact is that in a competitive system, with factories racing to conquer competitors by lower prices through a greater output, vast industrial communities are left with masses of manufactures which they cannot dispose of. Nothing is possible then except a slowing down, with consequent unemployment and general distress. All this partakes of a queer kind of irony, the irony of getting poorer the more we produce. With all our scientific knowledge, we have not organized society on a sound enough basis to insure it against being smothered by its own product.

This is the weak spot in our so-called Christian

civilization. In an earlier chapter I called attention to the doctrine of men like Gandhi who do not make enough of the importance of matter in their attitude toward this present existence. Gandhi, however, has put his finger on the weakness of Western civilization. Some of his criticisms come with poor grace from a land which takes human values as indifferently as does India, but the criticism has merit, nevertheless, the heart of it being protest against the judgment of all life by the materialistic measure. Take this field of education itself. The vast rush of students to higher institutions of learning in the United States in the past quarter of a century has not all been due to the love of knowledge. Professor E. A. Ross has shown that with the exhaustion of the free land of the frontier in America one door to a livelihood for ambitious young men has closed. The youths who forty years ago would have gone West and taken up virtually new and free land, now go to school for vocational training. Nobody could object to this procedure. Just as the conquest of the American frontier in the first hundred years in the life of our nation was its characteristic victory, so the expansion of the frontiers of physical knowledge may be the triumph of the next hundred years. This may even be very much to the good. The criticism of America for materialistic selfishness

does not always come from lands that have shown themselves unselfish. Much of this criticism has proceeded on the assumption that America has nothing to give but money. Those who look to America with materialistic aims of their own would better not say too much about the American lack of idealism.

Now I have put this strongly enough, for no matter how strongly it is put, it does not say quite the last word. That word is that any civilization which builds upon the modern doctrine of the material conquest of the world ought always to be turning upon itself with severest self-scrutiny. Complacency of attitude becomes a vice. Imagine a situation which does not call for any strain on imagination: a university preaches knowledge for its own sake, and exalts the men who have cared least for knowledge for its own sake. There are noble exceptions to all this, but these are chiefly among the institutions already financially safe.

So also with the activities of organized Christianity. Let anyone sit down today to talk with a group of successful business magnates about the progress of the kingdom of God. Making all allowances for exceptions, and some of the exceptions are gloriously Christian, most of these men are likely to be densely ignorant outside of the special sphere in which they have been so marvel-

ously efficient. We find the same poisonous notion that efficiency in modern business is the standard by which to judge a religious enterprise, efficiency itself thus becoming a Christian virtue. A good deal can be said for the charge that it is the aim of such men to rationalize and sanctify modern efficiency in material schemes by baptizing them with the names of Christian virtues. This is one basis for the attack on Christianity as the ally of a dominating capitalism. If we drop out of account all notion of ideals, of values for which the material is the pre-condition, and look just at material values themselves, what argument is there for the duty of spreading a material civilization of the type which has arisen in so many nominally Christian lands?

Some twenty years ago Sir Sidney Olivier wrote a book called *White Capital and Colored Labor.* Taking up the complaint of white men that black men are shiftless, he raised the question as to why they should be anything else, especially in those tropic climes which he was particularly considering. Why should the black man care for more than enough to eat? What advantage is there for him in the capitalistic virtue of thrift? What virtue is there in a thrift which produces more than the Negro gets any benefit from? Labor as hard as he may, the disproportionate share of his product goes

to white men. In any event he can only go a short distance toward wealth. In some quarters of the world during the Great War when cotton was selling for high prices, it was understood among the whites in cotton-growing communities that a Negro could be allowed to produce only a limited amount of cotton. That was enough for a "nigger." If he produced more he would no longer be "in his place." What is the use of talking of economic square dealing in such conditions? If it is just an affair of physical wealth, it is sound sense for the black laborer to quit work as soon as he has enough for his immediate needs. Bring something ideal into play and the outlook is altogether different. On the basis of the predominantly and ruthlessly selfish nature of the white man's capitalistic enterprise, there is as much logic in the black man's apparent laziness as in the white man's frenzied appeals to him to work.

It is not easy for a Westerner to see it, but an Oriental readily discovers that material represents nothing in itself beyond its instrumental value. Keep the defences of capitalism on the plane of the material, with its aims chiefly those that make for more capital and the piling up of physical resources, and all educational schemes which strive after capitalistic control of the earth fall under condemnation.

Bishop Temple has urged that the four considerations to be kept uppermost in a Christian society are the inviolability of personality, the fact of fellowship, the duty of service, the power of sacrifice. John Dewey has said that an ideal school would be one in which ideal conditions for society would be taught and exemplified in the school itself. Christian education in Christian schools in every land would certainly wish to set forth the ideals which Bishop Temple has listed, and yet to do so would be to act against what seem to be essential bases of an age when science is being increasingly applied to the mastery of the physical. There must be begotten, at home and abroad, the willingness to link trained intellectual efficiency to the service of those ideas concerning man and the universe which are the heart of Christianity. I have stood at an old site in Nanking and looked upon the boxes in which youths used to take Chinese examinations, examinations that were chiefly memory tests. I have stood in the Mohammedan university at Cairo and contemplated the sheer waste of nervous and intellectual energy involved in committing the Koran to memory. But such waste is not a whit more foolish than that of a secularism which uses intellectual forces for wholly secularist purposes. If anything, the outcome of secularism is worse.

CHRISTIAN PEDAGOGY AND HUMAN UNDERSTANDING

It may be remarked that those who get close to the problem of instructing the youth of so-called non-Christian cultures, come to have a genuine respect for the intellectual abilities of the youths themselves and for the point of view out of which the non-Christian institutions have arisen. Professor Ross has not passed many years in China, but experts rank his work on *The Changing China* high. Asked for an explanation as to how he could in a short time so thoroughly understand Chinese life, Professor Ross said that he at first made himself familiar with a few fundamental principles of Chinese social procedure. Then he asked himself what he would do if he were placed and had to act in circumstances like those of the Chinese. In almost every instance his solution proved to be that of the Chinese themselves. Take the admitted indifference of the Chinese to sanitation. Tell the Chinese of the danger of plague and you leave him unmoved. He will tell you that in an overpopulated land nature has at times to cut down the numbers of the people. When such times come they would sooner die of plague than of famine. It is altogether terrible even to hint at such a notion, but, Christian reader, which of the two would you and I prefer if we had to choose?—and the Chinese have to choose. It will help us much

to remind ourselves that in dealing with the cultures of peoples in lands less favored than our own, we are seeing social phenomena which we ourselves would have produced, in all likelihood, if our lots had been cast in lands like those we may be considering. The minds of men are enough of a pattern to act substantially alike, when groups are concerned, in substantially similar circumstances. Individuals vary greatly from one another, but groups are considerably alike.

It is from this underlying respect that men must approach one another in their attempts at mutual education. I say mutual, for it is mutual. Some peoples are more favored than others in some things, and Christianity means that each should as far as possible give every other of its best. This is the true sharing of the true riches. Probably there is no one who has honestly tried to teach the essentials of the Christian view of God and the world to peoples who have not that view but will declare that in the process he received as much as he gave. I am sure that all our attitudes of superiority to peoples other than our own are mistaken, superior as our own culture may be; but we are not largely responsible for our culture. We entered into it chiefly by inheritance. It might be easy, for example, to ridicule the early drawings on cave walls by primitive man and to compare them with the con-

summate art of later days. It may be that the drawings are those of the ordinary man of the time, and if so they are just as good as the ordinary man could do today. Some scholars have said they are better, as revealing closer observation of natural forms. Again, the teachers of eugenics tell us that while much may be hoped from preventing marriages among the unfit, the uplift of the race must depend upon the fertilizing influences of the higher cultures. It is a question how much development in inherent brain power has taken place in man since he actually came to man's estate, which is to say again that groups of men under normal conditions are so much alike that there is no reason for a condescending attitude on the part of any group toward any other.

These similarities of men to one another give validity to sound pedagogical principles, irrespective of their source. Understand that I am speaking of principles and not of fixed systems. The old methods of teaching used to assume the eternal value of a virtually fixed body of knowledge in a curriculum. The first bearers of Christian knowledge to non-Christian groups considered a curriculum good in England or Scotland or America equally good in India or China or Africa. Perhaps the curriculum was not as good back in the homeland as they thought; indeed it seems that the same

difficulties they found with it at home they found in the foreign fields. For after a while men came to see that all human beings move through similar stages of mental development; that they learn by activities which involve the whole personality as a unit; that the material for their instruction must somehow connect itself with the content of their daily lives. At the Jerusalem conference, I have remarked, the discussions were often of the same order as those in meetings of home missionary boards. Especially was this true of the discussions of education. Whereas in the old days groups of educators from all over the world might have talked in the same terms of a hard-and-fast curriculum, at Jerusalem the entire body talked not of the curriculum as such at all, but of the mental similarities of groups within certain age limits to one another—of the increasing importance, for example, of getting the right start at the earliest moment possible in the child's life. Though almost every object of daily existence which a youth in India sees is markedly different from those which a youth in America sees, the psychological laws of youthful thinking are sufficiently the same everywhere to make the pedagogical problem in a foreign field intelligible to any teacher, Indian or foreign.

Again, it appears that there is no need for trying worn-out methods in lands to which an education

Christian in principle is being carried for the first time. I once stood in a schoolroom in a tropical country which had become open to American methods of education. The educational leaders had decided that the more recent American methods, though they were working well enough in America, were a little advanced for their schools, and had fallen back upon our methods of perhaps twenty-five years ago. The pupils were responding just about as American pupils responded then. We recall that back in those days more stress was laid upon stiff classroom discipline, or that there was less provision for occasional relaxation, less consideration of individual peculiarities. The interesting reflection to me was that the school in the tropic land was the one that could make best use of the best methods, for those methods provided just the leeway necessary to relieve nervous strain in a land necessarily and inescapably hot. This is admittedly a mere detail and may seem to some a trifle, but it hints at the truth that the human stuff is enough alike in all races to make possible, not wholesaleness of method indeed, but recognition that we can apply the best methods we can find to a new field, just as we apply them to a new generation. A new host of children in Christian countries starts for school every year. If a new host in non-Christian lands can be likewise thus started every

year, the human material everywhere, while it is still plastic, is enough alike to make the worldwide problem substantially the same everywhere. The foundation of Christian education is the living of the Christ life. According to Jesus, the knowledge of God arises from doing the will of God. The training of the child-will in the doing of the divine will is pretty much the same wherever Christian principles are brought to bear on the education of a child.

IV

LARGER FREEDOM

If we could ensure that all those who are now in sickness and poverty and ignorance throughout the world had better health, more wealth, and sounder knowledge, at least one of the effects might be surprising to us. I refer to an increasing striving after larger freedom, showing itself in apparent restlessness and discontent. This is one of the common effects of benefitting men in distress and we may as well face it, thereby possibly saving ourselves from disillusionment. Just now there is in some quarters in Christian denominations a feeling of puzzled disappointment that churches in Asia, which have received sums of money in the total large, as such sums go, should criticize America-centered administration of Asiatic Christian organizations, and should demand more voice in the control of what they call their own enterprises. All of which seems inconsiderate, not to say ungrateful or rebellious. We had imagined that the enterprises were ours.

Let us not forget that this stirring is only what we should expect, assuming that the preaching of the gospel is having its characteristic effect. It is a mistake to suppose that the most important revo-

lutions take place only when peoples are oppressed and trampled upon and run over. The proverb tells us that even a worm will turn, and no doubt there is a limit beyond which the cruelest tyrant does not pass in oppressing subjects or slaves, for fear of a blind uprush of terrible wrath. Such uprushes, however, do not last long. Genuine revolutions do not arise out of sickness or poverty or ignorance. It is entirely true that the more men are given the more they want. As the old saying used to put it, give some men an inch and they will take an ell. This is especially true of those who are most genuinely men. It is an indication of the thoroughness with which Christianity has done its work, these signs of growing independence in Christian churches in Oriental lands; they may be marks of the entrance of the converts into the liberty of the sons of God.

A word of caution here is in order. Many who read of the criticisms of Christianity in India and China get the impression that the criticism all comes from organized Christian churches in those lands, and some readers take it as a virtual repudiation of Christianity by those whom we have regarded as Christian converts. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The masses of China and of India have not as yet been touched by Christianity. Hosts of peoples in both countries are opposed

to Christianity. Scores and hundreds identify Christianity with aggressive Western capitalism. In time of national excitement these non-Christians become vocal. Then the readers of newspapers and magazines in Europe and America think that this utterance involves the repudiation of Christianity itself by converts who have broken away from it.

At this point some reader claims that I have given my own case away, that I have admitted that the Oriental nations do not want Christianity; what do I mean, then, in a chapter on larger freedom by proceeding as if the wishes of the majorities of these lands are to be ignored? Since this is a question which is heard time and again, I may be permitted to step aside from my main purpose long enough to comment. To begin with a remark which may seem to be a wearisome repetition, I avow again that I do not know any Christian organization which is trying to introduce Christianity anywhere except by persuasion. The days of converting peoples by force are over. If a nation is admitted into the family of nations, it is supposed to come in on the understanding that there will be a free interchange of ideas within the family. So far as formal presentation of doctrine by organized Christianity is concerned, Protestantism at least accepts whatever conditions a nation puts upon religious work within its borders and

abides by those terms. If Japan says that religion cannot be formally taught by foreigners in her schools and that the moral teachings of Christianity can be imparted only in chapel exercises, the Western church accepts the limitation, gives as high a grade of instruction in secular subjects as possible, and does all she can through those chapel services. The Roman Catholics in Japan in an important school I know, have agreed, for the sake of meeting some peculiarity in the Japanese classification of schools, to give no formal religious instruction whatever, on the understanding that Christianity can be discussed in private personal interviews.

Without knowledge of what individuals here and there may have done, I am confident that no Protestant church today is willing in the slightest degree to preach Christianity anywhere in violation of the laws of a land. I refer of course to outsiders coming into that land. The attitude of the citizens of the land itself is quite another matter, one which each citizen must settle for himself. The situation in Mexico puts drastic limitations upon the activity of representatives from denominations outside of Mexico. No one from outside Mexico can perform the sacraments of a church, or discharge functions which can be called priestly. Foreign clergymen have to work virtually as laymen. Now this is a most serious hindrance to the spread of Christianity,

but all Protestant denominations who send representatives into Mexico—though the representatives are few—accept the limitation and work under it, asking of the authorities legal guidance at every step, and continuous inspection. The situation of the Roman church is different, for Rome insists that she has acquired rights in Mexico which the government has ruthlessly invaded. Protestant groups, however, who send any religious workers into Mexico strictly obey Mexico's law as interpreted by Mexican officials themselves. The writers for the newspapers who denounce Protestantism in the United States for smuggling Protestantism into Mexico—"bootlegging" religion into the country, is one picturesque phrase used—speak without the remotest knowledge of what they are talking about, assuming that they are speaking in good faith.

All this has to do with the work undertaken for Christianity in a country by representatives of Christian organizations from outside that country. Such representatives are scrupulously careful not to violate the country's laws. It is a bit refreshing, by the way, to hear agents of commercial companies seeking to get a business foothold in an Asiatic community, profess horror at the church's attempts to convert the people of those lands to Christianity, when they themselves are trying to convert them to the use of this or that brand of tobacco. Such

commercialists never think of endeavoring merely to introduce what the people actually desire. They deliberately set about the creation of new and often artificial desires—desires which often work havoc with age-old customs.

The question as to the relation of church and state as it presents itself to a citizen of a country where conflict between the two arises, is altogether different from the themes discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. I am quite clear in my own mind that the present laws of Mexico are a hindrance to religion, in that those laws forbid the criticism of the state by a representative of a church. States usually stand in need of criticism by the church. Moreover, the stifling of such criticism prevents the church from achieving much for the social spread of the gospel. Now I have a perfect right to express my opinion of Mexican institutions here in the United States, and Mexico has a right to say that I shall not express such opinions in Mexico. But I have no right, from a vantage ground of personal safety in the United States, to urge Mexican Christians to stand against the laws of their country. Exhortations on my part to Mexicans to run the risk of martyrdom are not edifying. Nevertheless, the Mexican Christian has here a question which he must settle for himself. I have mentioned Mexico because the issue is drawn there in extreme

form. Under the present laws of England a servant of the established church would not have a right to disregard the laws of Parliament concerning the church, but he would have a right to express his opinion about the laws. In Mexico criticism of the state is itself a legal crime. In such a state a prophetic function like that of Amos and Hosea in the Old Testament days would be a crime. The duty of the Mexican Christian who feels a prophetic stirring is one which he must solve for himself. If he acquiesces and is silent, no outsider has a right to call him a coward; and if he speaks out and meets imprisonment or worse, no outsider has a right to say that he has acted rashly. In this realm the conscientious choice of the Mexican Christian must be respected by his brother Christians outside.

We confront here the question of the attitude we are to take toward religious minorities. The question is important because about all the religious progress the world has ever known has come at the hands of minorities. It would be, no doubt, possible for the spirit of God to breathe simultaneously upon all parts of a national mass and lift the mass up, as in the twinkling of an eye, to the divine vision, but historically such does not seem to be the divine method. The "remnant" is one of the significant words in religious history. Now it is commonly accepted that the blood of the martyrs is

the seed of the church, but a more absurd policy —if anyone were to urge such a policy—could not be advanced than that of shedding the blood of the martyrs. Nations which have used force against conscientious minorities have drained themselves of their best blood. The driving out of righteous remnants has been immensely good for the lands to which the remnants have been driven, and immensely disastrous to the persecuting lands. Here again the problem is not confined to any one nation or people. Christianity in all lands today ought to preach regard for the prophet of conscience, whether he speaks in accustomed and agreeable accents or not. We shall have occasion to say again later that, because national issues are now so much in the hands of the people themselves, there is needed as never before a chance for the prophet. Because prophets in all ages have been stoned, literally or metaphorically, some of us assume that stoning is the natural method of dealing with prophets, whereas it is a most unnatural waste of them.

NATIONALISM

Looking now at the spirit of nationalism which so many today hail for its promise of freedom, we may note the pained surprise of many good people at the outbursts of nationalism in the Far East. It will be understood that I intend no criticism of

Woodrow Wilson when I say that his expression "self-determination" was evidently not intended by many of those who applauded it most loudly to be taken seriously. It was a handy weapon for war purposes in 1917. Mr. Wilson no doubt meant exactly what he said, but I doubt if even he could have foreseen the carrying power or the explosive power of the phrase. Inflammable resentments had been piling up among many peoples for generations, and the phrase touched them off. I was traveling in the West Indies shortly after the war and fell into conversation with another traveler, a Spaniard of unusual intelligence, himself deeply devoted to the church. This gentleman was severe against Mr. Wilson over the self-determination doctrine. "Now," said he, "every little upstart people wants to be free, whether it can handle its own affairs or not." Out of a somewhat thoughtless acceptance of a phrase whose implications we did not stop to consider, came a misunderstanding which laid nations on the Allied side open to the charge of insincerity, a charge intelligible enough, though not precisely just. In 1922 I happened to be on a ship in the China Sea. A misunderstanding had arisen between the table boys, who were Filipinos, and the head steward. The head steward struck several of the boys with a light stick, which at once created a near-mutiny. After some measure of quiet

had been restored, one of the Filipino youths said to me, "You sent teachers to the Philippines and taught the glories of independence and freedom. You are always talking about the Fourth of July. This is an American ship. Does it ever occur to you as contradictory that a nation which talks about freedom and human rights, and talks about them in the schools it maintains among us, should allow its citizens to strike us Filipinos with sticks and call us mutineers when we resist?"

These illustrations are drawn from geographically minor fields as compared with China and India, where the self-determination issue is most acute. China will take care of herself, probably, without clash with outside powers, for she is legally independent and has a clearer case in her protests. As to India, it would be presumptuous for me to hazard any political suggestions, except to say that some day her problem will have to be settled around a council table, with each side at least trying to understand the other. That being certain, the sooner the attempts at understanding begin the better. The difficulty in all such affairs is not that both sides have some right and some wrong, but that both sides have so much of the right that we may as well say that they are both right, and attack the difficulties on that admission. I once knew two men to go to law because each had said in a difficult

transaction that the other had done wrong. After thousands of dollars had been spent, a friend of both wrote each one what the diplomatists would call an identic note, with the request that each sign it and send it to the other. The note declared that the sender was convinced of the righteousness of his own cause and that he would not admit that he was wrong, but that he would concede to the other the privilege of insisting that he likewise was in the right without calling him wrong, and on that basis would take the case out of the court for adjustment. Each man was big enough to sign and forward the note. What this did was to get the recriminations out of the discussion, and then a fair adjustment was reached. Probably all that England says about her services to India is true and just, and probably India's craving for independence is also true and just. A new temper is needed above all else.

In general, Christian sentiment must stand for extreme patience toward all peoples clamoring for nationalistic self-expression. It is true that some of these peoples might meet disaster through self-determination, but we must not forget that no people is ready for self-determination till it says so itself, though it may say so too soon. In any event, no people in any degree subject to another people is likely to get self-determination the first time it

asks for it. Christian sentiment must insist upon recognizing the inevitableness with which any nation, in any degree in control over another nation, takes its own good intentions as beyond challenge. That is because, with the mass of the citizens, the good motives are in fact uppermost. The ordinary citizen is not consciously tied up with any plot for the exploitation of the tropics. The average Englishman is just as certain that England is in India under a moral trusteeship as he is of his own name. The ordinary citizen of the United States has no selfish designs on the Philippines or Santo Domingo or Mexico. Now, upon the basis of this pardonable feeling of rectitude, a patriot may so believe in the destiny of his nation as a trustee for civilization that his belief will make it impossible for him to get a correct focus on much of the demand of weaker nations for self-determination. Abstractly, too, nothing could be more reasonable than a people's demand for a "place in the sun," but when all the places are taken and the gratification of the demand means "moving over" on some other people's part, we find considerable embarrassment.

So much for the more general phase of this vexatious difficulty. When we come to deal with nationalism in the aspects in which it most directly bears upon the Christian task, we find that it has

peculiarities common to all nations. It is the most serious organized form of rivalry to Christianity. Secularism, indifferentism, scepticism, are all deadly foes of the Christian religion, but they are not organized. Nationalism can take to itself all variety of emotions, can call for the extreme of sacrifice. It promises freedom but it brings slavery. It cannot be dealt with in the abstract: it is so concrete that it has to be striven against in England by the English and in America by Americans. In the contest it can bring all manner of rage-arousing charges against those who attack it or criticize it or even raise question about it. It is at once the strongest and the subtlest enemy of Christianity today, and yet it is able to represent itself as Christianity in action.

We hear just now a good deal about the decay of the spirit of reverence. Tell a youth of today about the need of reverence toward religious objects and he responds with an indulgent and amused smile, except in those instances of sophistication where he informs us that, though all its rational values have evaporated, it is still worth while to keep alive the spirit of worship as tending to deepen the inner springs of personal life. Note how different is the problem presented by nationalism. Let one show lack of reverence toward the flag of whatever country one may dwell in and see what will happen.

The hat must come off while the flag goes by. Pray do not think, dear reader, that I am finding fault with the attitude of honor to the flag; I am simply trying to point out the contrast it presents with the attitude toward objects of religious devotion. Let one show like reverence to the cross of Christ and one would meet not ridicule, indeed, but indulgent and good-humored glances. The Star-Spangled Banner is not in the topmost rank of either musical or poetical achievement. To be the song of a democracy its words ought to be within the range of easy recollection and its tune capable of being sung. Without excess of either of these virtues, our national anthem receives an honor which has never been granted to any of the superb hymns of Christianity. Here again I am not complaining, but pointing a contrast. Any church would stand amazed to see its symbols treated with such regard as is shown the flags of the nations by the citizens of those nations. Any church would think it had brought in a new heaven and a new earth if it should see willingness to sacrifice for the heavenly kingdom like that which nationalism demands. The nationalists expect an obedience to the nation beyond anything ever claimed by Christianity from Christians.

Nationalism today is virtually a religious activity. Let us not be deceived by names, or by atti-

tudes toward objects we have been used to thinking of as religious. Russian Sovietism is professedly anti-religious, literally and with a vengeance. It is atheistic, anti-ecclesiastical, anti-everything that is suggestive of religion as we have been accustomed to the term. Yet long-range or close-range observation of Russia brings out sharply that the driving force of Sovietism is faith, mysticism, willingness to sacrifice even unto death. The power of Marxian socialism always has been in essence religious. It is debatable whether Marx was atheistic, but atheistic or not, he was consumed by that altruistic fervor which we are always preaching to Christians. He and his followers were about as much moved by the dreams of a new heaven and a new earth as were the believers in Jewish apocalyptic. I have mentioned Russia as an extreme illustration, because Russia proposes to be, and the rest of the world delights to insist that she is, anti-religious.

Some other nations with a cult and creed and ritual and temper of nationalism insist that nationalism is the handmaid of Christianity, but with the more objectionable types of nationalism it is the other way around—the nationalist would make the church the handmaid of the nation. In some nations even the mildest church criticism of any proposals of nationalists is resented. The church is supposed to recruit armies in time of war, prepare

for war in time of peace, and bless nationalism at any and all times. And where is the harm? Just here: that the whole nationalistic cult development runs squarely counter to the development of essential Christianity. At the center of the nationalistic doctrine stands, in one phrasing or another, "My country, right or wrong." With all his professed devotion to free speech in a democracy, about which the advocate of nationalism upon occasion becomes eloquent, the upholder of the nationalistic cult has no place for free discussion in any genuine sense. He makes protest against the charge that his slogan *is* "My country, right or wrong," but his assumption remains that his country is always right.

The fundamental mark of Christianity is its moralization of the idea of God, and its moralization of human relationships, the ideal being Christ as the revelation of God and man. Drop this out and we have dropped out essential Christianity. Now nationalism is not concerned about such moralization at all. No doubt the ardent nationalists are respectable, decent, truth-telling, reliable individuals, but their creed as nationalists has no place for moral and human and spiritual values as such. If they say that the surest, speediest way to bring these values to men is by the earthly triumph of one nation, or one group of nations, which pro-

fesses to stand for the values, we may properly ask if we must fight all over again the war of ten years ago. We had thought that it had become clear to Christendom itself that Christian ideals can be advanced to lasting triumph only by Christian methods. If the nationalist insists that the forces behind nationalism are the surging tides of irresistible human desire, we may legitimately ask why, then, he is always artificially pumping up the tides. It is to be hoped that every citizen of an enlightened country knows by this time the power of propaganda in newspaper-reading publics and the technique by which it proceeds.

It will be understood now that I am writing with the people of the so-called Christian nations and of so-called non-Christian nations both in mind. There are some hindrances to Christian freedom in nationalism which must be pulled out into the open for scrutiny. Anyone who does this is likely to lay himself open to the charge that, after his own nation has reaped the benefits of full nationalistic development, it is poor taste to preach the dangers of nationalism to nations that have not yet had nationalistic opportunity, which is as if an eater who has stuffed himself with food should lecture on the dangers of eating to a man half-starved. I am not, however, speaking to the groups who are struggling for legitimate nationalistic self-expres-

sion, but to all who are interested in nationalism as a threat to the whole world.

I urge that the largely exclusive pressure of nationalism on the attention of peoples who are seeking larger freedom is likely to hinder the attainment of some other forms of freedom much more worth while. Take the United States of today as an illustration, and look at the tax aspect. Recent though not necessarily latest figures have shown that about ninety percent of federal taxes goes to wars, past, present, and to come. Now the limitation of ninety percent of a nation's taxes to one object, even when we are considering federal taxes alone, is a serious encroachment on freedom. Whether we like it or not, we have to work for war measures, and a great many of us do not like it.

The true aim of social organization ought to be to allow individuals the best chance for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All these alike depend on making it possible for the individual to mind his own business. It would be worth our while to reflect how much of human progress has come as men have had opportunity to mind their own business. What we mean when we say that progress comes in the periods when nations do not have any history, is that history has usually been conceived of in terms of conflict between states, and that it is only when no warfare seems to be going on that

progress is made. The short and simple annals even of the poor may in their totality have profound significance for human progress.

I wish now to say something which it would be easy to misunderstand, namely, that constant excitement about political liberty may be the cause of lack of liberty in other realms than the political. As illustration of guarding against a similar possibility, let us look at the practical consequences for a Roman Catholic in acceptance of the dogma of papal infallibility. Will the reader please heed me when I say that I am not now seeking to justify those who accept this dogma, but that I am merely trying to explain it for a purpose which may in a moment become clear. Certain minds like to have things settled for them, and so they turn to the church with relief, casting their care upon it. Some other minds, not quite of this type, do not consider it of surpassing importance as to whether the church, or whether the scriptures, or whether the individual consciousness is supreme. They are absorbed or desire to be absorbed in other problems. Therefore they make peace with the church, by accepting its supremacy without more ado. With what result? With the result that the church, which is enormously successful at least as a human institution through skill in dealing with human beings, leaves its communicants alone in such realms

as do not seem to it important. To all who have conceded the supremacy of the church, the church allows wide liberty in personal affairs—too wide liberty, according to the opinion of those of us of Puritan traditions. If Roman Catholics can keep out of the way of clash with the claims of the church, they can do about as they please. Some can never make this adjustment, but others can and do, to their great comfort.

Or take an Old Testament character, Jeremiah. A few years ago a military student wrote a magazine article to prove that Jeremiah was a defeatist, virtually counselling his people to surrender to her enemies. The article did not make very pleasant reading, because the writer inevitably put into Jeremiah's time words and tempers and notions which belong to later centuries. Still, the expression was suggestive, though a military critic might miss the main point, the point being that in the judgment of Jeremiah it was of slight importance whether Judah had political independence or not, as compared with having moral and religious opportunities. If the nation was not going to obey Israel's ideals, independence would be of little avail; and if it was going to obey, the overlordship of Babylon might, for the time, be a blessing in disguise. Of course a militaristic nationalist would see only rank treason here, but the centuries have

voted with Jeremiah. To understand Jeremiah, however, we have to take higher ground than that of the expediency of the moment.

We get light on the same point by noticing a trend in current political practice. A few years ago democratic theory accepted as a commonplace the claim that in a true democracy the people must in some way actually carry on the government themselves. There is widespread revolt against such theory now. It is no accident that peoples as widely apart in social thought as Russia and Italy yield to dictators. There seems to be a surmise that a dictatorship can be democratic in the sense of fulfilling the wishes and needs of the people. The occasional references to Napoleon as a democrat seem to mean —when they mean anything—that democracy is served and preserved when an executive with insight into the popular mind and with devotion to the popular needs, puts into effect what is practically the popular will.

All this is merely illustrative. Quarrel with it as we may, the world is more and more awaking to a realization that nationalistic ambitions consume a disproportionate share of human energy, and that they must be so bridled that some energy is left for other and higher concerns. The argument for a League of Nations, or for an association of nations, or for any international organization that takes the

edge off nationalism, is the conservation of human energies for purposes as worth while as the political. With the nations all bent on larger territories, or on this, that and the other material advantage, or on recognition of all sorts of rights—every one of which may be legally sound—the total nevertheless costs too much in energy.

MAKING PATRIOTISM CHRISTIAN

I am quite well aware that I have been speaking in a fashion that may not be listened to. We are all full of the notion that anything around which the sentiment of patriotism can be brought to play must not be questioned. I am allowing place to this sentiment, but I insist that it must be subject to Christian inquiry, especially when we are thinking of freedom. I realize the almost insuperable toughness of the problems. The worst feature of the difficulty in India today has, it seems to me, to do with India's state of mind. Everything seems colored by one question. Before a distinguished American lecturer on Christianity could get an audience in India two or three years ago, he had to declare himself on independence for India. The Indian people have reached the stage where in relation even to European or American outsiders—leaving the English for the moment to one side—they see slights where none are intended, and insist

upon rights which might better be treated as insignificant. So acute has this state of mind become that an American sympathetic to India's claims declared to me recently that Indian suspicion was almost forcing him into the camp of India's foes in spite of himself. England, on her part, is suspicious and fearful, permitting and sanctioning a scrutiny of public utterance in India altogether out of line with English tradition. This means spiritual poison for both. Almost no sacrifice would be too heavy for either side to pay to clear the air of it if the cost did not involve worse bitterness for the future. Even if England should suffer material and political loss, and India should have to pass into an interim of economic and social slowing down, the physical price would not be too burdensome in the long run, especially if an adjustment could be reached after mutual concession and agreement. It is the over-emphasis on nationalistic self-expression on the part both of Britain and of India against which we protest. Nobody can doubt that a sentiment as deep as patriotism has its legitimate function, but is it treason to ask that this sentiment be controlled?

Patriotism can, I assume, be defined as love of country, but is patriotism the only form of love which is to be exempt from criticism? One of the outstanding achievements of the race, a huge item

to be put down to humanity's credit, is the domestication of love between man and woman. Here is an imperious sentiment which, if sheer vigor and intensity are alone measured, ought to be allowed to move on in its own might; yet an immense share of humanity's effort has been to bring it under control; not to let it run wild or to try to stamp it out, but to gear it to higher and higher purposes. So it ought to be with nationalism. But I know that all this is a counsel of perfection. Suppose an impossibility for an instant. Let us assume that Greece had begun her historic career with her territory about as extensive as it was at the death of Alexander. Suppose some statesman of the Pericles stamp of ability had declared to the ruling powers that the extent was too vast; that the nation should cease to try to rule outlying provinces just as soon as ways could be found to leave them to themselves; that Athens should be content with her population of about a quarter of a million, and should devote herself to art and science and philosophy. Such a proposal would even to us seem absurd on its face, but nevertheless the glory that was Greece was the glory of an Athens possessing the riches of the spirit; and the development toward size was a trend toward less and less freedom. The Old Testament writer saw all this when he told what kingship meant for Israel. The people

saw the king as one who would run before them and fight their battles. They were dazzled by visions of empire. The psychologists tell us that day-dreams are a mechanism of escape from the cramping narrowness of routine existence. The dream of one's self as a citizen of a mighty empire is an expansion of soul. We seem to feel ourselves out on the frontiers of the nation to which we belong. In the end, however, we have to ask the value of this for the citizen in any currency worth his while.

Returning to the Old Testament, we can well imagine that a citizen of Jerusalem in the days of Solomon might have felt expansion of soul as he thought of allies like Hiram of Tyre, of the horse-market in Egypt, of the ships on the Red Sea and the journeys to the Land of Punt, of the size of the royal household. How futile, not to say silly, all that seems today. As for kings fighting battles, the people found that all the battles had to be paid for, and that they themselves did the fighting. It is interesting to reflect that the period of Israel's material glory corresponded with an era when the massive empires of the East had troubles nearer home and thus paid little attention to Israel. Israel's material glory was chiefly historical accident. The genuine grandeur lay in a spiritual kingdom.

THE BEST FREEDOM

The true freedom is not merely in quantity but in kind. The entire conception of nationalism has to be revised. The deadly competitions appear when all groups want the same goods. In the realm of the spirit it ought to be possible for individuals and groups to develop excellences in which progress is unlimited, and to keep away from hurtful clashings. I do not take back anything of what I said about the Christian duty of securing physical wealth for a greater number of men, but I insist that nationalism conceived of in predominantly materialistic measures moves away from the regions of freedom. If a nation desires to behold other nations in any dependence upon itself, it may well ponder the suggestiveness of Herbert Spencer's picture of the master leading a slave. The slave is indeed tied to the owner, but the owner is also a slave, though he would be surprised to hear himself so classified. He must accommodate himself to the slave's pace. If the two were walking together in mutual understanding, the companionship might be delightful; if it was otherwise, either could go about his own business. In Spencer's picture, when the slave stops the master must stop. If the master seeks to force the slave to move, he may injure his own property. Who really is the slave? Both of them are slaves.

The picture is of two individuals, but the application is more than individual. The slaves of nations in the old days, and the dependents of nations today, pull the controlling masters down out of the realms of freedom to those of dependence. Anyone who has read Frederick Law Olmstead's descriptions of his journeys through the slave states of America shortly before the Civil War knows that the ruling classes in those states were in a dependence upon the slaves which was anything but freedom. The old-time slave-holder seldom had even the satisfaction of seeing any piece of work done in workmanlike style. If there must be, for a time, control over so-called backward peoples by so-called higher peoples, the control should be according to international agreement and plan. The United States alone, for example, should never have the authority to bring order into disorderly Latin-American states. That should be a task of at least the entire Western hemisphere, and one which could be provided for by agreements not at all subversive even of the Monroe Doctrine. It ought not to overtax the resources of statesmanship.

The reader may wonder why I keep harping on this theme in an essay dealing with the spread of Christianity. My answer is a further reference to Livingstone's experiences in crossing Africa on his long journey from South Africa to the West Coast

and then across to the East Coast. The natives soon came to welcome Livingstone to their villages because, as they said, they could sleep during the nights he stayed among them. The tribes lived, not exactly in perpetual war with one another but in unceasing fear of one another. All tribes alike accepted Livingstone as a friend, and would not attack a village in which he might be staying. It requires only the slightest acquaintance with current political conditions today to see that fear rules the capitals of the Christian nations. Peril may not be so imminent to the ordinary citizen in a civilized country as to the members of African tribes in Livingstone's time, but fear paralyzes many of the noblest activities of the lands most avowedly Christian. Let a congress of Christians from the whole world meet to discuss distinctively Christian problems—by tacit or open agreement some questions must not be brought up. When at Jerusalem a slight allusion was made to Korea's troubles, the Japanese comment was that the Korean question was a domestic Japanese one and not open for discussion. Nationalists of all brands are alike in declaring their right to scrutinize any religious teaching for its possible bearing on nationalism of their particular stamp. During the World War a Methodist ecclesiastic in America publicly declared that the Lord's Prayer reference to forgiveness had,

of course, no application to the enemies of our nation! The only path out of all this is through developing a brotherhood of nations or of peoples. If the human race comes to nothing through the failure of civilization, it will be because it did not work brotherhood into actual expression. The tragedy of such failure would be that there is nothing inherently insoluble in carrying through an organized brotherhood. There is more sentiment in the world for world organization now than there was among the American colonies for union in 1787. There is no more suspicion and jealousy now than there was then. The present-day task is easier than that which confronted the "founding fathers."

In an earlier chapter I spoke of Christianity as facing the task of the conquest of fear. Fear of the gods or of evil supernatural forces haunts men by the million. If the majority of men on earth were asked to give symbolic representation of their gods in picture or image, they would probably agree upon some hideous nightmare. A distinguished scholar of a half century ago said that the majority of the earth's inhabitants symbolize deity in serpent or dragon representation. The attack on the fear of such supernatural horrors is direct; it is a central duty of Christianity. Men, however, fear not the gods only, but one another. The attack on man's fear of man should be equally direct. There is an

expression from China which we of the West use lightly, but which has in China at times almost tragic significance—the loss of face. Chinese lose face when they lose favor or lose standing with their neighbors, and this is to them a calamity of first order. We of the Western hemisphere think we know something about the force of public opinion, but no communities on earth are so entirely ruled by public opinion as are the Chinese, at least in the village units. The Western peoples may be more democratic in their power to mass the aroused sentiment of millions of people on a continent-wide scale, but they are not as democratic in bringing community sentiment to bear on even the least details of daily life. A friend of mine was once conducting a party that was traveling by chair from one Chinese village to another. A dispute arose with the bearers of the chairs as to wages, and my friend asked an old man who was passing by for his advice. The old man called out in his loudest tone, "Come here, everybody!" Everybody within hearing came. The old man asked the chair-bearers to choose a spokesman to argue their case as against the claim of the tourists. After both sides had been heard, the group thus casually assembled took a vote. It happened to go against the bearers, but the decision was accepted without dissent.

All this brings its perils, the chief of them being to the independence of the individual. John Dewey is quoted as saying that one difficulty in the education of the Chinese youth is that from birth his life is lived out before so many observers. The Chinese lives in public from his youth up, and the inhibitions thus put upon him become serious indeed. In Methodism the administration of churches is carried on through district superintendents appointed for a term of six years. At the end of a six-year term a superintendent must step out and remain out for six years. At the session of the Methodist General Conference which enacted the law of the six-year term, a delegate thought he would help the administration in foreign fields by providing that the six-year limit should not apply outside of the United States. Nothing well-intentioned could have had a worse result, in China particularly. If a Chinese superintendent leaves his position by the automatic working of a law he suffers no embarrassment, but if he leaves because the needs of the work call for readjustment and reorganization, there is loss of face, and trouble all around. The judgments of one's fellows or one's peers are significant beyond calculation for human happiness or woe.

There is also fear of one's self, the inferiority

complex, which comes out of a state of mind which is not Christian if it arises from any chronic belittling or disparagement of self. Christian humility is willingness to face the truth about one's self, to recognize the truth as to one's weakness without being cast down, or as to one's strength without being unduly exalted. This hints at one of the good reasons for turning over the administration of Christian churches on foreign fields to the people of those fields so far as they are willing to receive it—namely, that such a transfer would stimulate their own spiritual resources. It is often said that if churches are thus turned over for administration to their own members, blunders will be made that it may take a quarter of a century to correct. This is sheer guess, but grant for argument's sake that it is accurate prediction. What is a quarter of a century in an organization aiming at results through centuries? The charge is that our standards of efficiency will not prevail. For example, we are told that in China the family idea holds sway so strongly that Chinese ecclesiastical officials will not weigh as they should the need of efficient results in church work as against the family claim, and that we shall have a veritable scourge of ecclesiastical nepotism. To this we may properly reply that we would better wait until signs of the difficulty appear before we say too much about it, and that

even if this family interest does appear it is not necessarily fatal. Sooner or later the Chinese will have to deal with it themselves. There is no worse inferiority complex than that which comes out of the fear of individuals or groups that they cannot correct their own faults. I am acquainted with a situation in a foreign field where the officials of the Methodist church sent out from America found that the indigenous workers were not as careful as they ought to have been in handling money. The workers had not had much experience with such responsibilities, and they lived in a country where carelessness amounting to graft had been looked upon as inevitable and even pardonable. The officials from the United States dealt with the difficulty patiently and leniently, anxious not to give offence. Finally the ministers of the Chinese Methodist Conference by their own vote proceeded decisively against the evil, with a finality that outsiders never could have achieved.

There is, however, one realm in which I shrink from the complete turning over of authority to young churches in foreign lands, or to churches of converts from non-Christian beliefs. It is the realm of discipline. The discipline in Christian churches in non-Christian lands is likely to be too severe. We confront the same social phenomenon here that we meet in trying to introduce student

self-government in colleges where there has been no such experience or tradition. One would think that students would assess light penalties upon their fellows, but until student control develops a body of traditions, the contrary is true. The penalties for breach of discipline are too severe. So with young churches in non-Christian lands. Where workers from outside have turned over discipline to native churches, in Africa particularly, the punishments for offences like adultery have been terrible. Of course Africa is not India or China, but in all such non-Christian lands, especially where it is necessary to present a solid front to forces which may now and again make direct assault upon Christianity, the obligations to preserve discipline seem most urgent to the growing churches, and lead to punishments which may be un-Christian. Even in India excommunication is a dreadful penalty. It would seem, though, that the presence of Christians from other lands might serve as a help in junctures of a disciplinary order, though the entire field is one calling for consummate tact.

The suggestion is often made that the ideal relationship between the older and newer countries, speaking in the Christian sense, would be that the representatives of older countries be present not in an authoritative but in an advisory capacity. This sounds well, and is well, provided it be understood

that advice is not to be given until it is asked. The problem of encouraging freedom in a young Christian organization is not so much one of release from authority as from over-influence from imponderables. The factors are largely psychological, the conditions being somewhat like those in the founding of a new home, with the newly wedded couple living under the same roof with the parents of either bride or groom. No authority need be exacted, no criticism uttered, no questioning glance cast, and yet the young couple may soon feel as if they are in bondage. The fact that the elders are there is a hindrance. As long as representatives go out from the United States and Europe to work in Christian churches in non-Christian lands—and they will no doubt thus go for a long, long time in the future—they will have to be selected with more care if they are to go without formal authority than if they are sent with direct official power. When power is exacted, almost all who work under authority realize at least half-consciously that the commanding voice is not merely that of an individual official but of the whole church, and this realization may take the edge off resentment. When, on the other hand, an individual seeks to give advice, he must be skilful indeed if he does not create those plights which we call by the expressive term of messes. An arbitrary

official is not much worse than a fussy adviser. In a word, it is safe to say that workers from Western Christendom should not be placed in any relation to Oriental churches where they are likely to be treated with too much deference—a deference, by the way, which is just as harmful to the man from the Occident who receives it as to the Oriental who gives it. Some of this regard and consideration is Oriental politeness; some is honor to the church from which the representative comes; all may be honestly granted and wholly deserved; but it is bad for religious freedom nevertheless. It is task enough for anyone set in a post of ecclesiastical authority or a position of honor to keep his soul fully saved, and deference paid him is a hindrance to his salvation. He would much better be open to the fire of constant criticism.

It is quite freely—too freely—assumed that the freedom of the churches in foreign lands means that they must support themselves financially. Contributors to benevolent causes in religious circles today are saying that they do not care to give much to foreign enterprises with so much talk about self-determination rife everywhere; if the foreign churches wish to run their own affairs, let them pay their own bills. We have in America widespread acceptance of the doctrine that he who pays the piper should call the tune. In spite of its

general popularity, this is not self-evident as procedure. To begin with, it is not always true. It breaks down when we have to do with experts, for example. I may summon whatever expert in surgery I please, but I do not call any tunes as to how he shall proceed. That is to say, in the realm where the expert is genuinely expert the decisions are left to him. If now I am sincerely interested in the worldwide progress of the kingdom of God, I am interested in so spending my money as to make it count most in furthering it. If there are workers in the indigenous churches who can serve more expertly than those sent in from outside, it is sound sense to spend the money on those workers. As long as I am content to spend the money just to help "the cause," without precise regard to the best service which can be rendered to the Kingdom of God, I am likely to fall into this pestiferous mistake about paying pipers and calling tunes.

Much can be said about expecting churches in foreign lands to pay for the support of what we call their own evangelistic enterprises, by which we mean the care of preachers and other such workers. It may be that such self-support will keep preachers and pastoral assistants closer to the flocks to whom they minister than if they were supported from outside. When, however, we are dealing with efficiency in institutions, we confront a different order

of problem. Institutions today have to cultivate supporting constituencies over the widest possible area. The important American foundations which help benevolent institutions spend their money wherever throughout the world the opportunity for service seems most promising. It is interesting to note the inconsistency into which we sometimes fall in our fluency about self-support of religious enterprises. I was once connected with a denominational college in a central Western state in which I used to hear frequently of the duties of self-support by church enterprises on foreign fields. Church institutions in the central west of America pay their own way—why should not similar institutions in China or India do likewise? So ran the familiar speech. As a matter of fact a goodly share of my time in that college was devoted to traveling over the whole country to interest wealthy men in education at that particular center. If it had been possible to get the attention of a rich man at the end of the earth, it would have been my duty to call upon him. It made not the slightest difference in the opinion of trustees whether prospective givers had ever lived in the state in which the institution was located or not, or whether he had made his money in any ventures that gave the institution a claim on him. His money might have been earned in places as little connected with that community

as was China. Some of the same trustees who were insistent that I get into touch with moneyed men anywhere were altogether sure that church institutions in non-Christian lands should pay their own way. The truth is that medical, educational, and scientific research institutions cannot look merely to a limited locality for financial support. They have a claim on the interest of men everywhere. They are doing a worldwide work and are entitled to ask for help anywhere. If any justification is needed, it is that their work is an enterprise of the kingdom of God and makes its contribution to that kingdom. We are fortunate that this elementary axiom is being increasingly conceded.

Those who have not traveled extensively in non-Christian lands cannot form adequate estimate of the importance of guarding and encouraging the freedom of the Christian churches in those lands. All social groups in all countries have their peculiarities of social procedure. It is sometimes said that very few persons beyond the age of thirty, moving into the Orient from the Occident, ever completely adjust themselves to an Oriental environment. The reason in large part is that the Oriental point of view is the resultant of multitudinous social forces that play upon life in the Orient, forces which beget a subtle, almost uncanny sense of what the welfare of the group calls

for. Professor Thomas Nixon Carver, writing of peasant customs in Europe, once said that some of the customs which to an American traveler seem to indicate that the peasant is a fool, show him to be a wise man, as, for example, when he uses a cow instead of a horse in cultivating a short strip of farmland, the cow supplying just the required amount of energy without impairing her usefulness as a milk producer. Likewise social procedures which seem to a Westerner unreasonable may show the Oriental's adjustment to his own *milieu*. Here is the danger in the introduction outright of ecclesiastical institutions created and developed in the West. We cannot possibly carry to the Orient all the shades of feeling which play through our own church methods. We would better, therefore, allow to the Oriental the opportunity of utilizing his own methods, arising, as these methods do, out of centuries of social experience, even when the Oriental cannot make much of a formal argument in behalf of them. The freedom of an indigenous or national religious group or church depends not so much upon formal agreements and declarations as upon the liberty to use the methods with which the Oriental "feels easiest." To utilize aptitudes and tempers and moods and methods in such fashion is to lay the deepest foundation for the freedom of indigenous churches.

V

CLOSER FELLOWSHIP

A natural and almost inevitable assumption concerning human progress is that closer physical contact makes for closer spiritual fellowship. This assumption, however, is open to qualification. The two forms of nearness, physical and spiritual, do not necessarily go together. The nearer some individuals come to each other in physical contact, the farther apart they are driven in mutual opposition and resentment. The same holds true of groups. Railroads, steamships, airplanes, telegraphs, radio, all the instruments which are symbols and tools of the coming together even of the ends of the earth, may be wedges to drive groups apart spiritually. In the old days the increase in the size and speed of sailing ships brought Africa closer to America, but if the ships were slavers, the closeness of America to Africa was the most dreadful feature of the African's existence. If all these means of communication are bridges over which men with selfish motives pass back and forth between nations, they only serve to thrust nations and races and groups apart, and what promises attraction actually brings alienation.

HARMFUL CONTACTS

In our reflection upon the intercommunications of nations we have to face the possibility of intellectual or spiritual—using the term in the broadest sense—overcrowding. Even if there is not overcrowding by the actual shifting of populations, customs and methods and ideas may crowd in from one people upon another before the receiving people is ready for them or before it wants them. Granted that all these inrushing factors are innocent in themselves, an incredible assumption, the multiplicity of the ideas may wreak about as much devastation as an actual overcrowding.

Akin to this claim that ease of physical communication brings peoples closer together, is the argument that commerce makes fellowship between buyers and sellers. When men say this they are practically assuming that commerce everywhere proceeds in the high honesty which it shows at its best. It has not been so very far back in the past, however, that, even in the most advanced communities, men bought and sold at their own risk and the risk a real one. Hence the legal doctrine of *caveat emptor*—let the buyer look out for his own interests. In some communities we have now gone so far that the word of the seller as to his wares carries more conviction and assurance than could any examination of those goods by the buyer. We

announce it as axiomatic in reputable business circles that there must be two gainers to every trade, buyer and seller both satisfied, and every buyer and every seller treated as every other would be under like circumstances. Now if we cannot have at least two gainers to every trade, and general fairness prevailing in the market places, bargains and sales become the most effective instruments for setting groups and communities by the ears. Let suspicion as to the honesty of commerce get a start, and we experience one of the most divisive forces imaginable.

I have said that in the more enlightened moral communities the rule of two gainers to every trade is freely accepted. But this rule has to be upheld by constant vigilance. The governments of the advanced nations have their bureaus of standards and measures. It might be quite instructive to discover how much the United States pays every year to see that weights and scales are exact and just. Such inspection is worth while no matter what it costs, not only as insuring that buyers shall receive what they expect, but as allaying causes of strife in communities. Wherever trading firms have dealt fairly between nations or between groups in different nations, they have been veritable emissaries of good-will, but where there is cheat and fraud, the closer the contact the wider the breach.

It is worth while to note that the Old Testament prophets, who were the first to take seriously the possibility of international peace, have so much to say about just and unjust weights and about the false scales that are an abomination to the Lord.

There is no way discernible by which nations today can live to themselves. That has been tried and found wanting. Japan came the nearest to success, and she had to yield to Admiral Perry's guns; though just what there is in Perry's exploit for any American to be boastful of is a bit obscure. The nations have too far interpenetrated now to draw apart. The interlacings are too closely netted together to be unraveled. For good or ill we are together in too many ways to allow of pulling ourselves out. Ways have to be found by which we can get along with one another.

SOCIAL IMAGINATION: THE INTERPRETATION OF SPEECH

Foremost among the methods ought to be stress upon the development of what we may call the social imagination. What is social imagination? The readiest answer is that it is the mental power by which I put myself in another's place and ask what I would do if I were in that place. That is good as far as it goes, but it does not get down to the roots. The vital question is not what I would do, but why the other man does what he does, and

what he means by what he does. Social imagination is the power to vision such questions and the will to undertake their solution. It is manifestly impossible for this spiritual achievement to be wrought completely, but we can make closer and closer approximations to it. The situation is somewhat as in literary translation. Language does not usually permit of full translation. In trying to carry over a Frenchman's meaning out of French into English we spill something. A surer recourse is to learn to think in his language itself. Words are different when viewed and used from the inside or from the outside. It is said that there was once a tribe of shepherds in the highlands of Armenia who when they wished to say yes shook their heads, and when they wished to say no nodded their heads. If a traveler had gone among those shepherds without knowing what their signs meant, the longer he stayed among them the less he would have understood them. How often do we hear tourists who have visited the Orient or Latin America say that the longer they are among such peoples the less they understand them; many add that nobody can understand them, and some declare that Orientals and Latins and all the rest cannot tell the truth. The reason for this is that the initial misunderstanding is not cleared up; naturally, the longer the contact continues, the greater the total of error.

We can be helped by a wiser understanding of how to interpret the speech of human beings. We have advanced considerably in insight when we have learned that speech is not to be taken for just what it says. Some time ago I heard a distinguished but rather uninformed scholar trying to throw light on Methodism from the meaning of the word itself, as it was originally applied to Wesley and his followers in their reliance upon method in piety. His exposition could mean nothing to present-day Methodists, for it overlooked all the swarms of associations which cling to the term without regard to its original meaning. So with other denominations. How much would one learn today of the Baptist denomination by reflecting on the word Baptist itself? The problem increases in complexity when we are using words which are not so much vehicles of meaning as conventional signs. If I step into the house of a Latin American and remark upon the beauty of a picture on the wall, the host may say, "It is yours." Now I am not supposed forthwith to take down the picture and walk off with it. I am, on the contrary, expected to reply, in as courteous phrase as I can command, that the one who could select for his home so beautiful a picture is the one on whose walls it should continue to hang. Possibly some American who prides himself on what he considers

his directness may say here that the remark about the picture's being mine was insincere—that the Latin American did not mean what he said. Such a comment would indicate a failure to see that the remark was a conventional one, signifying courtesy and good-will. Conventional speech never means what it says. The significant characteristic, however, is that it is not intended to deceive. Anyone who is thus deceived is in a manner self-deceived, as not being willing to go to the pains to find what the expressions mean. Judged by this same exacting scrupulousness, the American or English conventionalities would fare just as badly. We all say, "How do you do?" but we do not expect a list of detailed physical symptoms in reply.

Not only is speech not to be taken for what it literally says, but it is to be regarded often as merely relieving and gratifying the speaker, without conveying much content in itself. Here again is a prolific source of misunderstanding. The listener from outside takes the utterance for its content, and finding little substance, or a substance adverse to his own point of view, misreads a situation altogether. It might not be far from justice to say that the listener from outside ought not to be listening. The utterance is not primarily for him, but for the speaker himself and for his intimate circle.

This may seem far-fetched for the theme in

hand, but in these days, when people hear so much of what other people say about them, the caution I urge is important. We of the more materially advanced nations are fond of saying of some of the backward races that they are child races. Even so, we recognize in childhood a right to find its way along by expressing itself, without being held to too serious responsibility for every word. Travelers from the United States, representing commercial, educational, and ecclesiastical enterprises, return from non-Christian lands with harassing accounts of what the dwellers in those lands say about our efforts to help them, and of what the non-Christians think about the deplorable conditions in our own land. Disillusioned Chinese students have done much, we are told, on their return from Europe and America to make China resentful of Western religion. Much of this talk is like those sputterings we make about our friends when in moments of irritation we relax in the privacy of our inner rooms. Our utterances in such seclusion are not the ones which give the key to our actual judgment or our conduct. They are safety-valve releases, automatic discharges of overwrought nerves in which the proportion of nervousness is larger than that of rationality. Some of it is legitimate exercise. Better have it said and out than pent up inside.

If, moreover, we are to be critical of what the people we are trying to help say about us, it might be just as well to be careful of what we say about them. If we are looking for childish utterances we can discover quite as many coming from ourselves —and those, too, from the reputedly intelligent among us—as from any of the so-called child peoples of the world. Incidentally, if we are to deepen the spirit of fellowship in the hearts of men, it may be as well to cease talking about child peoples. What do we mean by child races? The child races have lived as long on earth as other races. All the expression can mean is that through retarding causes some races have not developed as others have, and those retarding causes relate chiefly to cultural and environmental factors. We do not mean that some races have only child brains. We mean that their education and training have not been enough to carry them out of a child stage of knowledge. Of course this gives us a complacent feeling concerning ourselves. If the classification of child peoples should be extended to include the Chinese, however, we should make ourselves objects of mirth. The nation with the longest continuous history among all the peoples can hardly be called a child nation. Moreover, if we take that look backward which is always so steadying to us, we discover that at the period of the Middle Ages

Europe could not have been pronounced far in advance of China. Making all allowances for inaccuracy and over-coloring in Marco Polo's descriptions of China, we have to admit that five hundred years ago China was even with or in advance of Europe in the arts which make what we call civilization. So also with India.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MANNERS

I have again and again spoken of the importance of manners in human contacts. Meetings between individuals have been so humanized that we take correct manners as a matter of course, and if they are lacking we pity him who lacks them. If a man of self-assumed superiority should move through a community with gestures of contempt toward this, that, or the other person, he would do no vast harm. According to an old precept, it is not possible for a gentleman to be insulted by one who tries to insult him, for those who resort to insult are violating the first principles of fine human conduct, and are exposing themselves instead of injuring the other. There still survives, however, something of a feeling that the making of wrath-arousing gestures to outside nations is legitimate. Of course the gestures are themselves insignificant, but the historians tell us that they are often signs of deep-seated national antipathies. One way to deepen an antipathy is to

make signs that show that it is there; and one way to get rid of it is to omit these same signs. Once made, a sign may transform an event into a symbol, and nations often go to war over symbols.

Deliberately intended gestures of hostility or contempt between nations, however, are less and less common; they are too dangerous. The actual explosives are often lodged in gestures which are not intended to arouse feeling. For example, the United States determines upon naval maneuvers in the Pacific Ocean. Now the fixed, unalterable geographic fact is that maneuvers in the Pacific Ocean have to be made from bases in that ocean, and directed toward imaginary enemies who can attack the United States from the Pacific. The only enemies who could effectively thus attack must live on the farther shores of the Pacific. Who are they? Who are they, indeed? By the time we have eliminated those who lay no claim to naval interest, not to say supremacy, we see the reason for the attentiveness with which one particular nation regards our every move. The amazing feature of all this is our astonishment at Japan's concluding that her own naval possibilities are in the calculation of our maneuvering boards of strategy. Yet what else could she conclude? All that she could possibly conclude is that every turn of every American ship is made with a counter

move of Japan in view, and that in such study not only are Japan's material resources considered, but also Japan's psychological character as a possible enemy. And I submit that reflection upon a nation's characteristics as a fighter is not a good method of developing a peace sentiment. Of course I am aware that it is not fair to expect from nations the same type of conduct we expect from individuals; but suppose I were to live as next-door neighbor to any reader of this chapter, and, after professions of utmost friendship, should insist upon pointing guns from my windows toward his. Would not the puzzled and alarmed neighbor be justified in demanding an explanation, and would my explanation that I was just practising be wholly satisfactory? No amount of avowal of good intentions would quite explain away the facts.

I feel that I must return again and again to the unintended show of superiority which marks the attitude of practically all citizens of the materially more favored nations in their dealings with the less favored. Leaving out of the reckoning the spiritual havoc wrought by superiority to the bearer himself, one peril is that he who is made to feel the chilly atmosphere of condescension may sink to a feeling of inferiority. The material advantages of the more favored nations are today obvious enough. If we who pride ourselves on our possession of

Christian standards do not always, or even often, keep our perspective as to the secondary value of material wealth—a loss of spiritual balance which is revealed in our unconscious gestures—we cannot wonder that those to whom material advantages mean all the more because they lack them, get to thinking of themselves as actually inferior. This may lead to a resolution to beat the Westerners at their own game, a resolution all the more attractive because of the enviable position of those who have already succeeded in doing some of the beating. Japan reorganized almost her entire social scheme to put herself in position to resist the aggressions of Western civilization, so-called. Her success, at no matter how dreadful a cost, has been illuminating to other Oriental nations, as suggesting that material power is all that Western nations will give heed to. When the Oriental does not possess that material power, he attempts manifestations of contempt for Westerners in which he may not be expert. Even in Japan, at a crisis when relations between that country and the United States were strained, I once saw Japanese trying to show contempt for Americans. The result was a travesty. The Japanese were by nature so courteous that discourtesy came hard to them. They were doing violence to the best in themselves, and were succeeding only in making themselves awkward. In-

deed for the moment they were departing from a superiority of manner which they by nature possessed.

Now a frank recognition of inferiority at one point or at many points is not incompatible with solid self-respect in other points and in the essentials of character. We may take a hint here from the attitude of members of learned circles toward one another. It is only too true that in a few communities today the snobbery and pharisaism of some learned organizations, with their scales of rating and classifying other organizations, is strikingly apparent. It is also true that the itch of scholars for honors of one sort and another is all too plain. Yet genuine scholars are in the main quite humble; they are completely free from contempt for other scholars outside their field who admit ignorance of that field, and free from contempt also for the ordinary plain people of everyday life who are not specialists in anything except getting enough to live on from day to day. The only persons over whom the genuine scholar would feel superiority would be those who make pretense to knowledge they do not have. Now if we recognize this as the ideal in the realm of scholarship, how much more ought it to be the ideal in the realm of those material advantages whose possession is so much less important. To be sure, all men ought to be above any feeling

of superiority or of inferiority; they ought so to live that they can respect themselves and deserve the respect of others whether they get it or not; but this is a counsel of perfection, even between individuals, and practicable only as we all work, in national groups particularly, for the exorcism of all values that are false.

Just how deeply this consciousness of inferiority goes into men's hearts was impressed upon me some years ago by an incident told by Dr. R. J. Dye, formerly a medical missionary of the Church of the Disciples to an African tribe on the Congo about a thousand miles inland from the West Coast. Dr. Dye worked among a tribe of Africans almost majestic in their physical proportions. After the tribe had accepted Christianity, it began to dawn on the leaders that they ought to do something to carry the gospel to other tribes. There was near the station at which Dr. Dye worked a group of pigmies, of the same general characteristics as those described by Stanley in *In Darkest Africa.* The pigmies lived in the deep forests, were bitter against the taller-statured Africans, and fought them with poisoned arrows from ambush at every opportunity. It was to the pigmies that Dr. Dye's followers sought to preach, and the Doctor and a few helpers one day set forth to the nearest pigmy village. For some reason the dwarfs had not that day

placed outposts to warn of the approach of strangers, and the little band of Christian workers came suddenly upon a circle of warriors sitting on the ground in earnest discussion. The men sprang to their feet with snarls of astonished rage and ran to the trees around the little opening, fitting arrows to their bowstrings as they went. Dr. Dye shouted out some reassuring greetings, announced that he and his group had come to speak of God, and called on one of his followers to narrate the gospel story.

It happened that this particular tribe was held in ridicule by the normal-statured natives by a term of contempt, *Batswa,* meaning dog. Dr. Dye had left it to one of his followers, in whom he had complete confidence, to tell the gospel story in whatever way seemed best, but he looked up in alarm when this African preacher started to narrate the incident of the healing of the daughter of the Syro-Phœnician woman. The preacher told of Jesus, of his place in Christian teaching as sent by the God of all to proclaim good news to men, of Jesus' experiences among the Jews to whom he at first went, of the opposition among his own people which led to the excursion to the land of the Syro-Phœnicians. Then, with this general setting, and with the intention of making it more real, the preacher took the text, "And he came into the

land of the Syro-Phœnicians," and it read, "And he came into the land of the Batswa"—using innocently and openly the term of contempt. Dr. Dye could not believe his ears, but he saw from the rage among the pigmies that he had heard aright, and he feared that a tactless blunder had put the little handful of Christians in immediate peril of death. Some of the warriors pointed their arrows, awaiting the signal of the chief to let them fly. But the preacher calmly raised his hand and called out for the group not to shoot till they had heard all the story.

Slowly the tension relaxed as the preacher went on, boldly declaring the word of Jesus, "It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the Batswa." Then he added: "But the woman said, 'Yea, Lord, but the Batswa under the table eat of the crumbs that fall from the table.' " Instantly there came a shout from the pigmies—"The Batswa woman answered the son of your God!" Then Dr. Dye saw the meaning of what was not blunder at all, but consummate skill in touching the springs of human nature. The preacher had, at least for the time being, released the pigmies from the stigma of inferiority. Was not this the method of Jesus? Was it not his method to deepen in men the feeling of self-respect? In his human relations Jesus dealt with all men as on a level with himself.

THE SUPERIORITY COMPLEX

Here is the most formidable single hindrance today to the worldwide spread of the gospel—I mean in addition to the selfish tendencies of the human heart—, this assumption of essential superiority by Christian races toward non-Christian races. I refer not to workers actually laboring in non-Christian communities, but to the nominally Christian communities out of which those workers come, especially when the Christian communities belong, as they usually do, to the white race. We say much of economic imperialism, of rapacious extension of territory by European powers, of war by Europeans upon one another. I doubt if any of these or all of them combined are as weighty obstacles to the conversion of the world to Christianity as is the fact that Christianity, being a white man's religion by the force of historical causes many of which are apparently accidental, so often carries with it the suggestion of the white race's assumption of superiority over all other races. It seems an incredibly hard saying, but it has often happened that more genuine respect has been generated when white men and black have fought one another with fists and clubs in undisguised attempt to enslave on the one hand and resist on the other, than when the whites have bestowed favors on the blacks in condescending fashion. The present-day

emphasis on treating races of a different color with kindliness may be wide of the mark. White men everywhere will treat persons of color everywhere with kindliness on condition that the colored races "keep to their place." The white peoples will pay almost any price if the colored races will "stay in their place." A minority of the human race—always eloquent about democracy—asks the majority to acquiesce in the minority's assumption of superiority!

Suppose Western industrialism were to spread throughout China. The Chinese might vote for it themselves, believing that they could get more material riches from such industrialization. It is conceivable that Oriental peoples might accept the governmental overlordship of a European or American nation for the sake of good roads and safety on those roads, or from some other material motive. It might even be that the so-called non-Christian nations might heed our arguments in justification of the wars in which we kill one another off, so that the contradiction between the gospel of peace and the practice of war might not disturb their minds any more than it does ours. But is it conceivable that Christianity can come to decisive supremacy as a world religion as long as this undisguisable, though often unconscious, air of superiority clings to the white nations?

Someone wonders, since this feeling is so deep and all-pervasive, if it is not one of the natural, inescapable peculiarities of human nature. There seems little warrant for any such supposition. If we look at the two races between which the feeling seems most pronounced today, the white and the black, there does not appear to be repulsion between their children. The different physical characteristics are not a sufficient explanation in view of the number of regular and irregular marital relations between whites and Negroes, and in view, too, of the fact that the two races have got on most amicably together when the colored group has acquiesced in the lower place. Some of the European races—as white as any—seem to have no feeling of repulsion against the blacks, though this is in part due, we are told, to the small numbers of blacks who live among them.

We are met here with an attitude of mind for which no adequate physical basis can be found. There was a time when it was not as compelling as it is now. If the feeling came out of slavery, slavery was a human institution, not capable of fastening ineradicable sentiments in the heart of the race. It is true that the thoughts and deeds of men can pull triggers, to use the phrase of William James, which release powers much more mighty than men can thereafter directly control; but over

against such forces others can be equally set to work through trigger pulling. Propaganda did not mean one hundred years ago what it means today, but it is not far from the truth to say that the emphasized racial attitudes current today have arisen from propaganda, which has been all the more powerful because at times it has not been deliberately intended.

Again, we have in racial antipathies an illustration of the terrible force of false educational effort. Some thinkers are telling us just now that we have never taken enough account of the psychological differences between races, especially of differing colors; that we have assumed that a black or a yellow man was merely a white man with a differently tinted skin; that the discovery that the differences are more than skin-deep has led to disillusionment and embitterment all around; that psychologically the abysses between races are unfathomable; that the possibility of complete mutual understanding among races of different color is hopeless.

And what if it is? Do we need complete mutual understanding? There are deeper abysses being overcome than those between races. The question is not so much how deep the abyss is, but whether we can get across it, or far enough across it, to help one another in good-will and common respect. The

abyss between the sexes is, psychologically, immeasurably profound. Who can deny that men and women do not in all things understand each other? To a degree the sexes must be forever apart. Yet the worthiest institution we have, the family, is founded upon the cooperation of man and woman, and all human institutions are at their best when men and women work together in their furtherance. And here it might be remarked that if we are looking for deep-seated feelings of superiority we may well question whether, taking the history of the race in all its length, we can find a consciousness of superiority harder to eradicate than that of man over woman. Looking over the range of human society we find that probably the majority of men have inexpugnable feelings of superiority over women, and yet we are not willing to let this feeling remain unchanged forever just because it can command a majority vote now. We do not propose to let such a state of affairs be final. When some noisy defender of man's superiority reminds us that this is a man-made world and that we should adjust ourselves to it, one adequate and justifiable retort has been that probably the trouble with the world is that it is man-made, and that we should not adjust ourselves to it, but adjust it to a better ideal of fundamental equalities.

If we wish to push the point further, let us not

forget that each of us is an individuality penetrable only a part of the psychological distance. Around each of us stretches what Matthew Arnold called the "unplumbed, salt, estranging sea." If psychological impenetrability is the core of this age-old agony, we have impenetrability in every individual life. Yet we do get along, and quite comfortably, with one another.

Another expert in race relations, one rightly famous in international circles for his kindly administration of African communities, informs us that what is at stake in white supremacy is the preservation of order. Nothing must be done in the presence of the so-called backward nations to lower the white man's prestige, which means that the white man shall insist on deference and preferment, and discourage any familiarity that approaches social equality. There is under this argument the assumption that the white races are the policemen of civilization, but even this will not justify the superiority complex, since policemen, indispensable as they are, are not the highest types of civilization's agents. An impressive statement can be made for the thesis that we of Anglo-Saxon lineage are a form of rough pioneer instrument designed to hew the way for all civilization; but if this were true, a better form of demonstration of our prestige ought to be at hand than that of culti-

vated aloofness. It is instructive to hear that the white man ought not to unbend in the presence of black or yellow men for fear of injuring white prestige. What about the harm done to this prestige by the unbending from a moral ideal? And so far as Africa is concerned, conditions for the natives seem to be worst wherever there are found the greatest number of whites.

This exhortation not to unbend in the presence of "inferior" races too often appears to be aimed at punishing the violation of a law or a rule, at letting no slight go unnoticed. How artificial and unreal all this seems when we look at the record of contempt the white peoples have made for themselves in dealing with Africans. The maintenance of white prestige ordinarily amounts to making good a threat by the use of force. Kaiser Wilhelm's advice to his soldiers as they started to the Orient in 1901 to carry themselves so that no Oriental would ever dare again to lift a finger against a German, is in point. The looting of Peking was, one may suppose, intended to heighten the prestige of the white race on this basis.

Some persons today are laying emphasis on the claim that the question of color is wholly social: I have a right to invite into my house whom I please; nobody has an inherent right to receive an invitation into my house. Privilege, not right, is

the true word here. In England and other countries of aristocratic history, high society preserves the social conditions of the older days, the fine human flower of what was best in aristocracy, by holding social ranks intact in spite of increase of power among persons and classes outside of the aristocratic line. Was it not Walter Hines Page who spoke of the English aristocracy as a surpassing experiment and success in eugenics? He meant by this the conservation of a class born of a noble line to noble traditions—birth and breeding and culture contributing to the maintenance of wonderful human excellences, all made possible by the right of the socially fit to say who should be admitted to their homes and families. The social leaders can forbid upstart political and financial leaders from passing beyond certain social limits. The people may vote men into power, the rulers of the people may pass them into the ranks of nobility, but none of this admits to the charmed circle. The history of the last war showed the high ideals of the English aristocrats, who died for England as if death were nothing. Such a circle holds its lines of defence not for itself alone, but for high human ideals that ought not to be allowed to perish from the earth. So runs the argument.

Granting all possible force to the argument made for social privilege rather than for social rights, it

is not the fear of social equality which chiefly animates the attitude of the whites toward the colored races. It is the white man's determination to keep his place of superiority. In the southern part of the United States the white man is resolved not to surrender any of his political supremacy. In the Pacific states the people are determined not to yield to the economic competition of the Japanese. Granting again the advantages of white supremacy in both these instances, it surely ought to be within the reach of human reason to get at a solution of differences without engendering hatred. Japan, for example, has proposed such solutions time and again. The problem calls for cooperative effort. No one man can do much alone. If he attacks the situation single-handed, he is soon wiped out of the picture. About the best he can do is to adapt himself for the time being to the inevitabilities and to "bore from within," giving honest expression to a better ideal as far as his fellows will listen to him. In this he must have deep concern lest he fall under the seductive spell of the white argument, incessantly repeated and reinforced by all manner and variety of social sanction. The task is desperate and will require a worldwide remedy by a worldwide Christianity.

Meantime fellowship can be deepened, or at least the way prepared for it, by any attitude toward

our colored fellow-men which shows respect. In our search for a closer approach to them it may be well for us to await their invitation. There is vast wisdom in that word of Jesus, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock." Jesus did not stride into men's houses or lives uninvited. The life on the other side of the door had to open the door. We can indeed tell all men whom we can reach what the good news in Jesus means, but only they themselves can receive it.

THE CONQUEST OVER RACIAL BARRIERS

It may be that there are phases in the experience of races other than our own that we can never fully understand. We must seek all we can to understand, but anything which suggests the rummaging of mere curiosity on our part is to be condemned as unwarrantable invasion. Manifestly races have a right to resent a too close scrutiny of their inner thoughts and feelings. In any event, it is for a race itself to say how far it will take outsiders into its confidence. We may be sure that outsiders will never fully get in except by invitation. If all other forms of knowledge are acquired only by sympathetic and patient waiting until the secret stands revealed, how can we expect any opposed method to succeed in the search for understanding of the human heart? Nature herself seems not to respond

to those who inquire of her in too direct bluntness. It requires the poet's or the scientist's long brooding to discover nature's secrets.

Fundamental in every search for entrance into the mind of a race other than our own, is straightforward justice. Amid all this talk about what races can or cannot understand in the communications of white men, let us remember that they can understand just treatment. Some defenders of the white man's supremacy will have it that all the so-called backward races can understand is force. Making every allowance for those handicapped intellects to be found anywhere, can we doubt that the least favored races know the difference between having the truth told them and having lies told them? Are there any races that do not know the difference between a promise kept and a promise broken?

The late Bishop Walter Lambuth of the Methodist Church, South, was notably successful in winning the confidence of African tribes. From hostility to Christianity to friendliness more than one tribe passed because of his treatment of it. I once asked him about his method. He replied that first and always he made good his word. He told me of a chief to whom he once went with a request for permission to preach Christianity to the chief's subjects. The chief flatly refused on the ground

that all white men were liars—soldiers, traders, tourists, all had lied to him and to his people, and there was no reason to believe that this preacher of the Christian gospel was not a liar too. Bishop Lambuth replied that he was about to return down the great river—the Congo—and across the great water to his home, but if on further thought the chief was willing to let him come back later, he would return within the space of a stated number of moons. Whereupon the African broke into laughter, avowing again that all white men were liars, but that if the bishop returned within the indicated number of moons, he might preach. "Of course," said the laughing potentate, "you will not come." The time proposed was about eighteen months, as I recall. To keep the promise Bishop Lambuth had to travel to Africa from Brazil and then ascend the Congo by steamer for a thousand miles, but he arrived at the desired village within the time set. The chief had had just enough curiosity as to whether the white man would keep his promise, to order the sentinels at the village lookout posts to be on the watch for him and admit him if he came. His astonishment was genuine and deep when the bishop arrived. The chief made good the permission he had given, which finally resulted in a Christian foothold in a territory which might have had to wait another generation for the gospel if it

had not been for a white man's keeping his word.

The second rule which Bishop Lambuth gave as a feature of his method in winning African tribes was to do all the deeds of human helpfulness in the range of possibility. His business, of course, was to do such deeds, but he took special pains to pour himself out without stint at the outset. He was a surgeon, able to perform most of the ordinary operations that fall to a surgeon in the usual course of practice. During two journeys which together involved five thousand miles of traveling on foot, he carried, through several scores of porters, enough equipment to set up an outdoor hospital at almost every halting place, and performed four hundred surgical operations, many of extreme seriousness. This he did to the astonishment of the natives, without any hint as to expected remuneration. The result was that the news of Lambuth's marvelous power to cure traveled far in advance of his caravan. By those strange channels peculiar to primitive peoples, word got to the sick in every direction, and from every direction the sick came.

It happened that after some months of this service Bishop Lambuth wished to make a short side trip to a mission station which could be reached only by a thirty-mile tramp through a Congo forest. He set out accompanied by a single companion, Professor Gilbert, a Negro, member of the

faculty of Payne College in Georgia. The two took enough food for a trip of that length, but after a day they realized they were off their course. The food gave out at the end of the second day, and the third began with a hunger which only those who have tramped through a steamy, tropical mass of vegetation so dense that daylight is almost shut out, can understand. By mid-afternoon of that day the two were utterly exhausted, and as they struggled on they feared they must sink down, with doubt as to whether they could get up again. Suddenly in the shadows they came upon a native standing at a crossing of the paths with food which he offered and insisted they should eat. Refreshed, they resumed the journey, following directions which the happily discovered native had given them. At the close of the day they came upon a second native with food. Bishop Lambuth now saw that there was more than coincidence in this relief, and asked for an explanation. The native asked in turn, "Have you not heard the beating of the drums? All day the drums have been signaling that a friend is in the woods without food." The bishop remembered that he was in a country of drum signals, whereby the skilfully hollowed stump of a peculiar variety of tree, when its rim is struck with a mallet shaped for the purpose, gives out a sound which carries three miles through the forest

and ten miles along a river valley. There were three signals of special significance: one was a war alarm, another the call to a feast, and the third meant that a friend was in the forest without food. The signals might be relayed to long distances, and the third signal had been thus relayed until the villages had responded with the food and thus saved the bishop and his companion.

Now this incident is peculiar only in its dramatic setting. It is a commonplace with those who live and work among peoples like the Africans that they will at least return good for good. The late Dr. Egerton R. Young used to tell of passing through a region over which forest fires had swept away every possibility of securing animal or vegetable food. He had almost to do battle with his Canadian Indian companions to get them to eat enough of the provisions they were carrying to keep up their strength. They were afraid there might not be enough for their white leader and themselves. It takes a long, long time for those reared in high Christian tradition to learn to return good for evil, but few groups of human beings are so far down in the moral scale that they will not return good for good.

Another element in success in getting across barriers between races is fellowship in hard toil. It is sometimes said that the only way a white man can

keep his supremacy over peoples of color is to surpass them in everything. This is an exaggeration, but it is true that the path to leadership lies in being willing to surpass all in hard work. There may be a type of leadership which depends upon mere observance by the leader of some form that is expected of him—the white man says he dare not give himself to physical tasks, for instance, because in the eyes of the colored groups themselves these are looked upon as menial and degrading. This is not quite the leadership I am speaking of; but even if it were, we must remember that colored followers of white men look to their leaders to do their utmost, whatever it is they are expected to do. Still, I am not thinking of leadership, but of fellowship. If fellowship can be established, leadership can take care of itself. It will go to whoever can best lead. When it comes to actual hardship, whether of toil or danger, almost universal testimony is that enough individuals of the colored races will appreciate the fellowship in suffering of a white co-worker to establish a bond of union thereafter unbreakable. In the fire of the test, all the artificial shrivels up. It was human as well as poetic insight which prompted Rudyard Kipling, teaching an imperialism which implied racial superiority, nevertheless to make the English soldier pay tribute to Gungha Din as a "better man than

I am." It is in the fellowship of cross-bearing that men of all races come closer together.

Again, it will not always do to make general statements as to others' duties. A slashing criticism recently appeared in a leading monthly magazine, rebuking the Protestant missionaries for abandoning their Chinese fellow-Christians and rushing out of China during the recent riotings, especially around Nanking. We cannot doubt that in crises like this some unworthiness of spirit is displayed, but let us remember that the missionaries have been most earnest in requesting that force shall not be used in relieving them in foreign countries in time of riot and war. At the Jerusalem conference the missionaries took the lead in passing a resolution which called on governments to use only such measures for their protection as would promote international good-will. The significance of the action was that it was taken at the missionaries' own request. Officers of mission boards, delegates from America and Europe, and representatives of indigenous churches, although they felt it was not their place to prescribe what any worker was to do in face of appalling danger—these voted for the resolution because of the urgent, even impassioned, insistence of missionaries. The action left it to the missionary himself to decide what he would do in a particular crisis, but made it indubitable that, in

the judgment of the group at Jerusalem, boards in Europe and America should not call on governments to use force in the protection of missionaries or mission property.

This whole problem is complicated by considerations which do not always come within the survey of magazine writers or readers. There may be moments when it is obviously the duty of the worker from without to stay with the native Christian in peril, and workers have, apart from exceptions of which I have never heard, shown always more eagerness thus to remain than to leave. But the question cannot be decided merely by the worker's preference. Many a worker would count it a high privilege to die with his fellow-Christians if he had only his own personal interests to consider, but he is a citizen of a foreign nation and cannot escape the consequences of citizenship, among which may be that his being killed in a non-Christian land may involve that land in war with his own, especially with all sorts of "interests" willing at least to threaten war. Public opinion, which may care nothing for the welfare of the kingdom of God, in its resentment against violence done any American or European generally increases this threat of war, and of all estranging and embittering influences between races, war is the worst. A worker may nobly choose to die with his fellow-

Christians among the natives of a land if the death is by pestilence, for example, or even by persecution, if persecution does not involve foreign intervention. He is not to be censured as ignoble if he chooses to withdraw from a peril which may embroil the peoples with whom he is working in a war waged by powerful engines of destruction, for a few months of war can ruin all the foundations for Christian fellowship laid down by the terrible strain of decades of labor.

VI

THE VISION OF GOD

We come at last to that vision of God which is the highest of all human experiences, but which is so vast and so many-sided that it requires for its full realization the cooperation of all mankind. We begin by expressing our thankfulness to modern students for teaching us that the minds of men of all races are in themselves so much alike that they do not have to be made over to accept Christian truth. In spite of what we may say about relativity, there is an element in all our knowing which is practically the same everywhere. Knowing is much like seeing. What each man sees depends upon what each man brings to the seeing, but eyes are enough alike so that we can hope all men may see what we see, or may follow the guidance of seers long enough to make a start toward sharing in the vision of the seer. Those familiar with the cultures of primitive peoples tell us that once we have seized the clue to a people's thinking, we cannot help admitting that we should probably do just what they do if we shared their outlook and culture. Whether humanity sprang from a single human stock or not, the psychological faculties of

the human race as such are alike. In the presence of the same phenomena the races ask substantially the same questions, though they are far enough from arriving at the same answers. The task for all of us is one of regarding sympathetically those differing cultures and differing points of view which lead to differing conclusions. Cooperation in anything begins with this attempt at understanding.

Scientific students of society tell us that our theories of the powers back of the universe are all projections of our own minds upon the universe, and then in the next breath inform us that all races make such projections. In the name of this projection tendency some atheistic thinkers are promising their followers, and threatening the believers in God, that in just a few years they will convince everybody that religious interpretations of the universe are nothing but shadows of the mind's own casting. We would caution these thinkers not to carry the shadow-casting theory too far, for may not someone ask if science is a shadow of the mind's own casting? Is not this atheistic theory, too, a projection? Atheism is itself a religion when anyone is concerned to argue about it. The dangerous atheist is the indifferentist who believes there is no God and does not care. At any rate, atheism is as much a projection as theism.

SOME FUNDAMENTAL SIMILARITIES

Men have from the beginning been asking the same questions about the universe. Who made the world? What is the world? Who and what are men? Can men come into touch with the powers guiding the world so as to influence them? All these questions are as old as the race itself, as various as are the answers. Now the tendency to project answers upon the universe when practically all men are concerned in the projecting, brings us face to face with a universal tendency which belongs to the nature of man himself. Even if men are nothing but the outcome of a material set of forces, those forces must be manifesting their own character when they are continually prompting men to ask over and over the same questions about backlying reality. Whatever the nature of the creative forces, they seem always playing that old game, "Ask me a question." The questions which they prompt about the interests we call religious are even more persistent than those about the interests we call scientific.

Dr. Rudolf Otto in *The Idea of the Holy* has maintained that religion always begins with the feeling of dread in men's hearts as they confront the mysteries of the universe before which they are powerless. Dr. Otto is himself by temper a rationalist and a moralist. He would admit that

the progress of religion, especially as religion issues in Christianity, consists in interpreting the "numinous"—the dread-causing, the awe-compelling—in increasingly rational and moral terms. Dread becomes astonishment at the power of mind revealed in the universe, and awe becomes reverence before the moral and spiritual. Kant summed up a vast total of wisdom when he said that the two objects which filled him with awe were the starry heavens above and the moral law within. Our present danger lies in the fact that we are made so cock-sure by our scientific discoveries that the spirit of awe dries up in us, and reverence perishes in the presence of a morality which has become, to popular, superficial thinking, only an agreed-upon set of customs, to be set aside whenever an individual feels that his liberty or his pleasure or his whim is interfered with. It is difficult to see how religion can flourish if the spirit of reverence vanishes. We do not adjudge that it indicates an especially superior type of intellect when a thinker does not stand in amazement before the universe. The more the thinker knows, the more ignorant he feels in the presence of the vast unknown, and the more he marvels at the wisdom revealed in the bits of the universe that he can understand. Intellectual wonder is never far off from the mood of worship.

Now in their capacity to wonder, we must pay

honor to men everywhere. Primitive man lives much under the dominion of fear, but in his fear there is also marveling. He spends much of his effort in the attempt to make adjustment to the fear-compelling, dread-creating aspects of his environment. He has not reached the point where his intellect has turned the environment over to the working of impersonal forces. In fact, he does not fully comprehend the meaning of anything impersonal, so that all nature is for him filled with powers which we conceive of as belonging to the domain of the religious. The races that we think of as lying most completely outside Christendom are quite as open to religious sentiment, such as it is, as are those inside Christendom. All races have their sceptics and scoffers, their intellectually self-sufficient and their morally sophisticated; and these everywhere render similar services and fall into the same blunders. Probably the progress of Christianity among non-Christian peoples depends more than we realize upon the satirists among those peoples who in their own way help to undermine the non-Christian belief; and probably, also, religious progress is hindered more than we know by the satisfaction multitudes of non-Christians take in their beliefs. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy are common enough among all grades of religions, which is only saying again that the phenomena of

religious consciousness are enough alike to make the task of the evangelization of the world much the same everywhere.

It has been usually assumed that the moralization of religion has been due chiefly to Christianity, and the assumption is no doubt sound if we mean by moralization the adjustment of religion to Christian moral ideals. For the Christian the law of good-will is absolute, though we may be desperately perplexed at particular times as to just what the good-will demands. In Christianity the aim of morality is the largest and best life of man, and the increase of the spirit which makes urgent the pursuit of the aim. The Christian conscience, however, may not be of itself any more compelling than the non-Christian. We return again to our contemplation of child sacrifice among non-Christian tribes. Let the callousness of such tribes be as great as we can imagine—still the practice cannot be an easy one for parents. They make the sacrifice because their religion calls for it, and they do so conscientiously, according to their lights. Moral feeling, though directed toward an inhuman ideal, is deeply involved. Christianity strengthens moral purposes and enlightens moral struggle, but it does not create moral feelings outright. It works upon and develops moral forces already at hand.

Many students are at pains to show that the

moral sense among non-Christian peoples is not as keen as among Christians, and that therefore the Christian idea of God will never be as powerful with them as with ourselves. This is sometimes said with a most charitable motive, namely, that of defending the non-Christian races from the charge of degradation which many institutions, such as that of the temple prostitutes, seem to warrant. I remember in my youth hearing Bishop Foster say that he had traveled through heathendom in all parts of the world and that he had never, in the midst of the most abominable practices and most devastating superstitions, found anything as bad as Boston. After the commotion following the remark had died down, the bishop explained that what he meant was that while there were no revolting inhumanities in Boston, like those in some non-Christian lands, nevertheless Boston produced the more depressing effect as sinning deliberately against moral ideals of which she knew the plain meaning and full implication, whereas the heathen, so-called, following natural impulses without any more than a dim and glimmering sense of what he was doing, was not so much immoral as unmoral.

This argument of the good bishop has often been used to make out a better plea for the non-Christian than is ordinarily thought possible. Our Lord once said to a class of deliberate evil-doers that they

admitted that they could see what their courses meant, and that therefore their sin remained. On the other hand there are those who will have it that acquiescence in what seems to us moral degradation must be hopelessly beyond reach of a gospel which is in its essence and sum ethical. It may be pointed out that emphasis on the degradations of heathenism often produces a deepening of the very evil it declaims against, by throwing the convert from non-Christian faiths on the defensive. If he were left to himself he would probably be most outspoken of all in condemnation of the evils from which he has escaped, but when he hears these evils so condemned as to imply inherent wickedness in those who are still in their toils, or so as to make them appear the worst evils the race has ever known, he would have to be more than human not to become resentful. Then he begins to apologize for, to explain, to excuse, and even to justify these evils, to his own and the general harm.

WORLDWIDE AWARENESS OF EVIL

The truth seems to be that what we call conviction of sin can be just as poignant in non-Christian as in Christian systems. Sin may be defined in different terms, but the disturbances it makes in consciousness are intelligible enough wherever they appear. We often point to Jeremiah as the discov-

erer or announcer of the central position of the individual in religion. Jeremiah was born in an age which considered moral responsibility the duty of society rather than of the individual, but his own agony over the moral condition of his people was as desperate and intense as if he himself had been guilty of wrongdoing. There is not much reason to doubt that the Jeremiah experience has been and is possible to believers in non-Christian religions. The presence of evil, no matter how we define it, has always been an upsetting factor in human consciousness. To dismiss the quest for holiness on the part of holy men in India as a search for the esteem of one's fellows and for power over them is absurd. There are admixtures of motives in the religious practices of all men, Christians included; but the tap-root of religious experience is not desire for social approval. The social impulse has immense power, as I shall say more than once in this chapter, but the driving force is deeper. Any worshiper who will give over his life to the hardships of the holy man of India is taking religion seriously. The Indian tells you that life is so evil that he is seeking peace by treating life with contempt, as if it did not exist. Indian religion, including Buddhism, is a stupendous protest against the unsatisfactoriness of the life that now is, taken in itself. I wonder if it would be unfair to say

that India assumes that no life at all would be better than this. Indian religion is an attempt on the part of the whole man, his moral faculties included, to escape to salvation. The ideas of escape and of salvation may be mistaken, but the consciousness of evil, including moral evil, cannot be denied.

Realization of personal guilt is not necessary to a sense of the unworthiness of things as they are, and even of one's own shortcoming. Indeed the awareness of shortcoming is more likely to oppress those who are living the most nearly correct lives, for there is something about shortcoming or transgression that blunts moral sensitiveness. Paradoxical as it may sound, it is those who have sinned least in their own choices who feel most acutely what our fathers used to call the sinfulness of sin, for they have been able to retain the purity out of which vision comes. It is a cardinal belief of Christianity that its founder, who himself knew no sin, felt most heavily the weight of sin in the world.

We have mentioned a mighty religion like Buddhism as recognizing or implying the awareness of moral values toward which all men somehow make an adjustment. Let us look for a moment at a religion far below Buddhism in the civilization scale. Fifty years ago William Taylor, a founder of Christian churches in India and Africa, used to tell of an African chief who was in spirit Christian

but who never announced belief in Christianity. It appears that the chief lived up to the highest moral standards he knew, showing good-will toward men in a degree unprecedented in non-Christian Africa, and interpreting his duties to his deity in terms of good-will toward his subjects and his fellows. As the chief came to his death he kept calling out to his deity, "Niswa, Niswa, I am your man." The only possible construction that William Taylor, skilled in dealing religiously with men, could put on the call was that the chief had found peace in accepting the path of moral obedience as the key to religious understanding—exactly the same path as that taught in the New Testament as leading to the vision of God in Christ.

FORMS OF CONVERSION

Christianity has taught the possibility of conversion, of being twice born, as one of its most important essentials. Let us not forget that conversion as a psychological experience is not limited to Christianity. Buddha is a dim and misty figure so far as biography is concerned, but his experience under the famous bo-tree must have been a conversion, or else those who described the experience knew what conversion meant. Jesus put a Christian content into conversion, but through surrender to the highest moral ideals men were being con-

verted long before the time of Jesus. We may look upon the experience of the transformation of Jacob into Israel as containing the religious notions of a crude primitive time, but the experience is altogether intelligible psychologically. There were two men in Jacob, and the struggle was toward the settlement of the question as to whether the lower was to dominate the higher, or the higher the lower. Now it does not touch the heart of this old-time narrative to say that the wrestling of Jacob with the divine being was for a blessing conceived of as material, and that the notion of a battle for spiritual unity was read into the narrative later. If this is conceded, it only adds force to the point I am trying to make. Interpreters could not read into the story interpretations of which they knew nothing in their own experience. If generation after generation of interpreters read into the incident by the Brook Jabbok what we should call a conversion, then generation after generation of interpreters knew what conversion was. If they put something into the narrative, they had to have that something before they could put it there. They saw at Jabbok the transformation possible in a life that by divine touch passes from Jacob to Israel. The distinctiveness which marks off conversion among the Jews from that among other peoples is that from the beginning the Jews ascribed

to God moral qualities capable of an expansion which finally led to the Christian idea of God. Conversion is common enough among all peoples. Of course we must be careful here not to require, for admission to the kingdom of believers, a conversion experience of the Jacob-Israel form. The one requisite is obedience to the divine will. All I am doing now is to insist that whatever vision of God comes through conversion is possible among all peoples. Conversion is deeply divine, it is also widely human.

While we are on this theme, let us note that conversion does not necessarily imply the change from evil to good—in other words, it need not mean a lifting from sin with the implication that only sinners, in the ordinary meaning of the word, can be converted. The experience of St. Paul on the Damascus road is classic; was that a change from sin to righteousness? St. Paul's own testimony was that he had lived before God in all pure conscience. The law on which the Psalmist meditated day and night was the law which Paul found so exacting. It was the desperately sincere attempt to keep the law, rather than merely to meditate upon it, that aroused in Paul those questionings which he tried to push to one side. The modern student of the mind would say that questions like this cannot be pushed to one side, that they sink

into the lower depths of the soul, thence to emerge in crisis-compelling power. In the light of all we know about Paul and about the processes of the human spirit, we ought to expect that many conversions from the non-Christian religions to the Christian will closely resemble Paul's. For that experience was, practically, from a non-Christian to a Christian religion. The more earnestly Paul took his Jewish religion, the more directly it led away from Christ. The natural questions about the results of Judaism in himself, and of Christianity in a disciple like Stephen, sank into the consciousness of Paul, to emerge at the divine touch in the complete transformation of the persecutor into the apostle. We must never identify an experience like this with conversion from sin, or teach that sinners alone can receive the visions of conversion.

Jesus gave his disciples to understand that it is by doing the will of God that men come to the knowledge of God. Let us be clear that this is a universal test, a democratic test, so to speak, possible in all ranges of religious experience. I have said that we ought not to select the conversion experience as a sole test of the genuineness of Christian profession. Some lives pass from one state to a better without being conscious of a distinct line or moment of transition; and even in those crises which are the least mistakable, the

sharpness may vary. Underneath all religious progress, through crisis or otherwise, must be the human doing of the will of God, and the doing of the will of God is possible to anyone. I am not saying that the doing of the will of God as anyone else would do it is possible to me, or that the divine will for me is binding on anyone else. Out of fellowship of believers will come an increasing agreement as to what God's will is, but there is always a relative element present. The absolute factor is the will to obey God; the relative factor is what that obedience may call for at a particular time or place, or in a given set of circumstances.

This emphasis on obedience to the divine will is the only basis for a worldwide kingdom. The kingdom could not justly establish as a condition of entrance any strictly intellectual tests, nor could it establish tests of feeling, for men vary in capacity for feeling even more than in capacity for knowledge. The one test always in everyone's reach is that of doing whatever measure of divine will one may know. This is not a discounting of intellectual or emotional elements in religious life; it is simply an attempt to make the law of good-will central. If we reflect upon scriptural revelation, we soon see that that revelation was in the nature of insight granted to men who were obeying the Lord to the best of their power. Out of that

obedience came the material on which the profoundest thinking could work. The surest path to Christian knowledge is to get men to walking in the Christian way, the knowledge thus gained to be used for further power in walking that way.

From obedience, too, comes the fine awareness of spiritual values which we think of as the vision of the seer. A distinguished teacher once said that skill in understanding and in the application of knowledge does not come until the formal principles "have been digested out of sight." Digestion results from activity—the useless elements rejected, the useful applied to new energy as the waste materials are burned away. With our present-day knowledge of bodily processes, no figure of speech more suggestive of an activity like a fierce burning could have been spoken than this reference to intellectual digestion. Likewise in religious realms, it is the doing of the will taken as divine, the obedience to the highest possible ideals, which teaches men to reject some knowledge as useless, to apply other knowledge as material for a new life, with the worn and waste stuff of the old life burned away. In the fires of such doing knowledge passes out of the state of formula, or even of creed, into that of living discernment, of quick intuition, of instantaneous feeling for sound courses and right paths.

VARIETIES OF MYSTICISM

Here it is in order to say a word about the current claim that mysticism is the heart of all religion, and that mysticism is not a mark of Christianity alone. Following the Great War, uncounted numbers of believers, especially among the peoples of central Europe, despaired of the redemption of society by Christianity. The international plight especially seemed hopeless. Many of these discouraged souls then began to turn to mysticism as a relief from the world and their distresses. What God might do with this present world was God's own affair: meantime it was the duty of Christianity to seek the vision of God within one's self by mystic approach. Some of today's emphasis on the miraculous nature of the sacraments is due to this same despair of the world and to weariness of the struggle to make the world better.

This retreat from the world was never soundly Christian, and it soon began to show its non-Christian peculiarities through the emptying out from mysticism of the distinctively Christian factors. Nobody can doubt that mysticism abounds in one form or another in all religions. Not only Buddhists but American Indians put emphasis on the significance of mystic states as a means of religious enlightenment, even when such states are artificially induced, as by the American

Indian's use of a narcotic from the cactus plant. I have said often enough that Christianity does not put into men any new faculties, or destroy any faculties they already possess. It seeks to deal with native faculties redemptively, to utilize them in harmony with the moral and spiritual ideals of a Christian humanity. Some forms of mysticism move in the wrong direction. The Christian test of a religious experience is the effect of that experience on the life of the individual. Now a broad difference between non-Christian and Christian mysticism is that the non-Christian mysticism seems to end in futility. Non-Christian mystic visions appear to be vague and indescribable even as visions. All we can look to as a means of evaluating them, then, is their influence on the seer. Hinduism seems to encourage a quiescent mystical condition, as if the worshiper were letting go of everything, as we do when we fall asleep. It is admittedly hard to tell from the outside what Hindu mysticism or any other mysticism essentially is; for example, what might appear to an onlooker as a sinking away from all objects of thought might be an absorption in some one central thought. Far from being passivity, the experience might be perfect control of the attention, with the higher perceptive activities coming into play as the more ordinary powers were held in subjection, or the

higher activities that give no outward sign might by their intensity draw off the energy of the lower. Whatever be true of non-Christian mysticism, it is true of the Christian type that the experience draws upon these upper reaches of life. Here again there is nothing altogether peculiar to religion; the absorption is characteristic also of scientific or artistic meditation. When religious attention issues in quick flashes of insight, that insight is the result of the will-control which has held the whole life in loyalty to moral purpose. It can readily be seen that the expansive effects of such experiences are permanent, making the life of the seer a larger and better instrument for the seizure of truth.

I wonder if we often stop to think how much of will-activity enters into the genuine pursuit of truth in any form. Sir Isaac Newton used to say of himself that the only intellectual power he claimed was that of the ability to pay attention a little longer than most men seemed to be able to do. Paying attention with any seriousness involves the whole mental and moral and physical organism before we get through—concentration, properly enough, is the term in current use.

What I am trying to make evident is that wherever we find mysticism, it can be used for the increase of religious understanding. If Hindu mysticism is passivity tending to self-hypnosis, we

can see in the devotion of Indian believers to their search for truth by the mystic path a possibility, now wrongly directed, indeed, but capable of incalculable benefit for the kingdom of God through conversion to the service of Christian ideals. It is as if one stood watching vast water power running to waste in swamps which breed disease and death, when a direction of the waters into carefully considered channels would redeem the swamps, and produce streams wholesome enough to minister to thirsty thousands and deep enough to float merchantmen from afar. Indian mysticism at least betokens a religious interest that could be used to make rich the city of God. For one thing, we have in India literally millions of people willing to take time to be religious. We can never expect the best results in arriving at religious understanding as long as men live and work as we live and work, under the tyranny of the clock. Power and opportunity for prolonged meditation are prerequisite to the mastery of truth anywhere. Suppose, as a stiff traditionalist once remarked of the expositions of Christianity by converts from outside, that the expositions have clinging to them shreds and patches of heathenism. Will someone please tell us what statement of Christian truth today does not have clinging to it shreds and patches of what at least used to be heathenism? If we choose to

call Greek philosophy heathenism—and it certainly was that when the church fathers first began to utilize it—what can we say but that there is heathenism in some of our most orthodox creeds? If it be urged that Greek philosophy was long ago redeemed to Christian purposes, the inevitable inquiry is whether or not a redemptive Christianity can today convert to Christian purposes what we call heathenism. The Christmas tree seems to be fairly well employed at the holiday season as a symbol of Christian good-will, but if the tree has not a heathen origin it would be hard to say what has. That was not first which was spiritual, but that which was natural, and afterward that which was spiritual.

We need for the total vision of God the contributions of all peoples. We need them not only for the way they serve the various peoples themselves, important as that is; not merely for their relative elements but for their absolute elements, their power to get hold of aspects of divine truth good anywhere and at any time. The significance of non-Christian beliefs lies not in the beliefs themselves but in the power of the minds that produced the beliefs. When we remember that the non-Christian views of the world came into being outside the stream of development which led to Christianity, and that the path to Christianity came

so largely through the labors of men like the prophets, who were religious geniuses, what can we say but that if the favored revelations had come first to the peoples now non-Christian, they might have done as well as the Jews. Of course this is futile reflection, but it is pertinent as calling attention to the capabilities of all sorts and conditions of peoples. Recall for a moment the incident of the signaling through the Congo forests for help to Bishop Lambuth. The tribes who could invent such a system of drum signals, with what amounts almost to a Morse dot-and-dash code, had abilities of no mean order. To be sure, the wireless is infinitely more amazing as an instrument for communication than the drums of the African forest, but any group which can invent and use the drums can learn to use the wireless. If we can get Christianity into India in such fashion as to allow India to take hold of it with her own grasp, turning upon it her power to brood through an indefinite period without being harried and distracted by American or European notions of efficiency, we may find Christianity illuminated anew by the light which Western eyes are not yet fine enough to seize. It is as if someone interested in the discovery of musical talent should come upon a group of singers splendidly endowed with organs of song and with fine instinct for rhythm and harmony, but the

content of whose music had not been given its fullest possible development.

THE UNIQUENESS OF CHRISTIANITY

Here may arise the old criticism that I am seeking to set Christianity off in that uniqueness which declares Christianity good and all other religions bad. My word about getting hold of the powers of non-Christian peoples hints that their religions as such are to be rejected. I maintain, however, that when I think of the uniqueness of Christianity I think of a unique power to use everything that is usable. The distinctive power of Christ lies not in any unapproachable separateness, but in his ability to make everything with any possibility of good his own. What originates from Christianity is a cleansing, redeeming force which converts, and by conversion releases new forces. If Christianity is allowed to run its own course, everything of the good and true and beautiful will get a better chance to show goodness and truth and beauty after it has been converted to Christianity than it ever had before.

The late Professor Borden Parker Bowne once stood in a Chinese village as a Chinese mother with a sick child prayed before a Buddhist shrine for the healing of the child. The anxiety of the mother was distressing, the sincerity of her petitions beyond

question, her belief that somehow the god or gods could help was unmistakable. Professor Bowne asked himself what was the value of such praying, and found himself forced to reply, "Much every way." The prayer came out of surpassing love; it assumed that the power back of all things must be friendly to love for a child; it assumed that the power could be reached. He concluded that the praying woman belonged in spirit to the kingdom of God. Now I regret to state that when Professor Bowne turned over an address of his for publication to a group of American Christians in China, all that he had said about this incident of the mother and the sick child was cut out, and this in face of the fact that the address had gone on to say that Christianity would mean most to just such harassed souls as that agonized Chinese mother, who was using the best way she knew to find relief. It is only fair to say that this was over a quarter of a century ago, and that the uniqueness of Christianity is not now interpreted quite as it was then. It is now interpreted as the ability to utilize good everywhere. As for the necessary abandonment of former views when one accepts Christianity, that holds even for successive stages of Christianity itself. Christianity speaks at every particular period through the world views of that period, and its views are in many respects dependent upon the

knowledge at hand in the various eras. As knowledge grows from more to more, the framework of Christianity takes on larger proportions. If Christianity had never been introduced into China or India or Africa, the world views of the religions of those countries would nevertheless have been changed as they came into contact with the outside world. The special danger in China is that the thought frame of the world in which Chinese religion is cast will be thrown aside, and, instead of Christianity, a materialism born of misunderstood Western science will take its place.

THE PATH TO THE FULL VISION

We need for the total vision of God all the light that can come from any source. As we come to a close, may we say that the full vision of God cannot break upon us as long as so many millions of people remain outside the realm of opportunity to see that vision. It is an inconsistency and a contradiction to speak of a vision of God for all men, and then make no effort to allow all men to see the vision. When this attitude is accompanied by indifference to conditions which make against the existence of the vision at all, we need not wonder that we see so little. We cannot say in one breath that the good news is intended for all men, and then act as if it belonged to any one group alone.

One dreadful hindrance to the coming of ampler understanding is this contradiction between the universal intent and urgency of the Christian message, and the practical assumption that it is chiefly for those who now profess to have it. If a people conceives of Christianity as intended for itself alone, that assumption is a sign that it is not a Christian people. In truth it cannot be said that Christianity is for anyone's private enjoyment. If it is for the spiritual luxury of anyone, that luxury can only be legitimately enjoyed after full effort to bring the truth to all men. A sound social ideal is that no one should have cake till all have had bread, or at least till every effort is being made to bring bread to all. We hear much today about the doing away with all varieties of special privileges, and so far as special privileges are artificial, the argument for their doing away is unanswerable; but special privileges of any kind carry with them heavy responsibilities. If I am the holder of specially fine land, or of specially important knowledge, or of specially important religious opportunities, I am under a heavy bond of trusteeship for the sharing of the fruits of my favored position. We speak rightly of the contradiction between the preaching of peace and the building of war armaments. The contradiction is not one whit more glaring than that between professing to be Chris-

tian and being indifferent to the spread of Christianity through the world. The good news of God is a secret not to be kept. The evangelistic spirit which we rightly think of as so characteristic of Christianity demands that the good news shall be told. If that good news had to do with me alone, or with my group alone, I might hold back from the telling on the ground that it was my own business; but it has to do with everybody and belongs to everybody.

Someone objects that this argument goes too far; that there will always be contradiction between the ideal of Christianity and the realities in the midst of which we live. It is true that we shall never hear the voice of God as we ought till the tumult and the shouting of racial conflicts and jostlings and quarrels die down, but when will they die down? Assuming that the uproars are in flat contradiction to the gospel, is it not true that as soon as we quiet these clamors others will break out? Is not the difficulty here parallel to that in the relation of Christianity to any social situation into which it is introduced, namely, that when one contradiction is done away with, the conscience of Christianity has become more sensitive to another?

To this the reply is that the vast realms today unreached by the gospel are suffering pains that are terrible on their own account, and not merely rela-

tive. The good news of which we have been speaking has had to do with the actual relief of pain, the conquest of distressing superstition, the victory over poverty, and the release from multifarious forms of bondage. To call all these relative gets us nowhere. They are real to the people who suffer them. Some persons tell us that pain is more severe to the civilized man than to the African tribesman, but those who have dwelt among such Africans say that the tribesmen suffer pain of which the inhabitants of Christian lands know nothing at all, pain, too, which comes directly out of their un-Christian culture or mode of living. This complacent observation that the dwellers in non-Christian lands do not feel pain as do the dwellers in Christian lands must be balanced by the other observation, that sufferers in Christian lands seldom have to suffer the full force of pain for long. The North American Indians used to say that it was no reflection upon a warrior's bravery if with a toothache he cried like a squaw. Moreover, the Indian had no more alluring prospect of relief than that of having the tooth knocked out with a stone hammer. Now a toothache is not among the major human woes, but we do not consider toothache adequately dealt with in the remark that suffering is relative to the sensitiveness of the disturbed nerves, and that men in the less advanced cultures

do not feel pain as do those in the more advanced. The pain of the world prevents the worldwide vision of God, and such pain can be relieved by the vision of God and what that vision brings to pass. It is no use for us to talk about the peace that passeth understanding when we are complacent in the presence of pain that passeth understanding. No doubt a morally advancing humanity will always discover new contradictions between the ideal and the real, but we have not yet got the grosser contradictions out of the way. It is our immediate duty to preach the gospel to all men, in increasing realization of what that gospel implies.

A second critic tells us that on this basis of removing contradictions for the better vision of God we shall always have to meet the contradiction that some will not heed and will not look, and that therefore the full vision of God will not be possible. We admit that it would be the worst conceivable violation of the spirit of Christianity to try to make converts by any other method than that of so preaching Christ as to win the free loyalty of men, but our hope and aim is always for a more effective preaching of Christ. When men are not reached by the gospel, the question is always pertinent as to whether the preaching has not failed as truly as the men preached to. By preaching we mean such presentation of the gospel as to set it

forth as good news. Father Taylor used to say that he did not believe his friend Ralph Waldo Emerson had ever heard the living Christ preached. He admitted that Emerson had heard the Christ of the creeds preached, but Taylor did not regard the exposition of a creedal Christianity as preaching. The door is open today throughout vast reaches of the non-Christian world for the best possible phrasing of the good news. I was once asked by the head of a government school in China, himself an avowed materialist, to speak to his students on Christianity, with full freedom to say anything I pleased. The request was made, as I soon saw, partly out of politeness and partly out of an understanding that the better the case I might make for my religion, the more sharply would appear the contradictions between such a putting of it and the practices of the civilization professedly arising out of Christianity. But for a Christianity that comes with the good news that bears redemptively upon all life, there is chance for hearing and belief the world over.

Again, we must have the worldwide vision of God because any other vision is too small to give us the essential truth. The message and the vision must have scope. Bigness is not everything, but the message must be as big as the race. The representation of salvation, for example, as the redemp-

tion of individuals from their personal sins in the conventional meaning is not enough. The preaching of the so-called social gospel is a mark of the Christian craving for scope, for adequacy. The book of *Revelation* is deserving of a place in the New Testament if for no other reason than that its visions have size. A great multitude that no man can number, of every kindred and people and tongue, stands before the throne. Those who sing the new song are thousands and tens of thousands. All through her history the church has searched for measures and phrases of magnitude to set forth the immensity of the gospel. One putting of the ritual of the Lord's Supper used to speak of the "full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice and oblation and satisfaction for our sins, and not for ours only but also for the whole world." The feeling here is evidently after expressions which will convey the vastness of the purpose of God. The salvation of a few individuals is not enough. It would not be enough to have a few scattered rivulets of personal life as the sole subjects of redemption. There must be a gulf stream of humanity, so to speak, whose salvation will show itself in the alteration and betterment of the spiritual climate of a world.

In some realms size counts for almost everything, and the passion for size can be converted from a hankering after mere bigness to an adequate setting

for the gospel. Size after a time takes on a quality of its own. It is not just more and more of the same thing, but a new fact, producing astonishment, and then awe, and then reverence. The thought of a race of a billion and a half of human beings seeking together and finding a vision of God is itself an indication of the worth of that vision. Moreover, all the gifts of vision possessed by the whole race are needed to bring out the finer qualities of the divine revelation. It is a folly to suppose that the noblest revelations of God can come to men who are held by the militant mood. But as long as Christianity is not substantially world-wide, the mood of militancy may be expected to prevail. Truth indeed emerges out of the clash of opinion with opinion, but not so surely out of the clash of persons with persons or of group with group. We are coming to see that in those social issues where human interests are at stake, the temper which leads to high discovery is that of the round table, where there is a sort of communism of thinking. In the household we have always considered that the family table is to be approached in the communistic spirit, so to speak, each to take what he needs as long as the food lasts. So at the intellectual table of Christianity, each is to give what he has, and to take what he needs for the strengthening of his own mind, the result being an

increase in the common power to see and understand. The vision of the Lord has aspects which can be gazed upon by all men. Even devils can see and tremble, but there are shades and colorings of that vision which devils can never see, meanings which only those can see who are filled with the spirit of the Lord, in an atmosphere a-quiver with that spirit. It is altogether absurd to conceive of the higher treasures of the religious life, or of any other exalted phase of life, as revealing themselves in the dust and noise of a battlefield of controversy. "Be still and know that I am God." There are indeed revelations of majesty in an angry sea, but if a sea becomes perfectly still, it catches the glorious colorings of the upper sky as it can never do in its tossings and lashings, to say nothing of the miracle of balance, of equalization of the play of forces. If a race of a billion and a half of people were once together to turn its face in calm steadiness toward God, the imagination is staggered in contemplation of the revelation that would result.

William Taylor said fifty years ago that if the youth of the world could for two generations be held to the rudiments of Christianity, the problem of paganism would vanish of itself. This is an overstatement, for paganism springs up from within us as well as from without. Still, Taylor

was on the right track. Religious healthy-mindedness would be as obvious as healthy-bodiedness if we could for two generations surround growing lives with the physical, mental, and moral atmosphere which makes against sickness and toward normality and vigor. Healthy-mindedness in religion is fully possible only in a redeemed world.

Finally, the high achievements of the seer are possible only in a worldwide Christianity. It is a commonplace in the realm of knowledge that before the loftiest genius can appear, the general level of intelligence, or of interest in the sphere of knowledge where the genius emerges, must have risen to a notable height. Could Shakespeare, for example, have been possible in tame and commonplace times? It is this truth that historians have before them when they so often speak of leaders as the products of their times. The statement contains only half the truth, but half the truth is too large a proportion to be disregarded. Even the prophets who stand against and rebuke their times must find enough sympathy to get a hearing. In the old story Elijah was informed that there were seven thousand who had not bowed down the knee to Baal. If it had not been for the support of those seven thousand, silent though it may have been, Elijah could not have wrought out the betterment of Israel.

It is not to be expected in religion any more than anywhere else that all men shall be extraordinary in endowment. The religious genius is to work as distinctively here as elsewhere. Nevertheless every man in a world set toward the vision of God can contribute to the vision of the genius by making conditions which the genius can utilize, the genius in turn to use his sight and insight to lift the common level higher. The ordinary intelligence can be readily trained to see what it requires the extraordinary intelligence to discover. In all realms we reduce to common use knowledge which at first only the rarest scientific genius can get hold of. Adolescent boys are markedly proficient in manipulation of wireless, but it was not an adolescent intelligence which made the wireless possible.

For us the vision of God was revealed once for all in Christ Jesus, but the revelation of that revelation has not yet more than begun. We have, however, seen enough to have an inkling of what is to come to a redeemed humanity. Paul tells of a vision of the risen Christ which was seen by five hundred of the brethren at once. The vision probably came because the five hundred were brethren, and in the moment when the awareness of their spiritual kinship became vivid and acute. We wonder why that vision was not described—possi-

bly because it was a foregleam of a vision for the whole world, and hence indescribable. We wait for the full vision until the world has become ready for it through attainment of worldwide brotherhood.

APPENDIX

Published Reports of the Jerusalem Meeting of the International Missionary Council

The Complete Report of the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Council held on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem, March 24-April 8, 1928. Eight volumes which are separately available as follows: VOL. I, *The Christian Life and Message in Relation to Non-Christian Systems of Thought and Life;* VOL. II, *Religious Education;* VOL. III, *The Relation Between the Younger and Older Churches;* VOL. IV, *The Christian Mission in the Light of Race Conflict;* VOL. V, *The Christian Mission in Relation to Industrial Problems;* VOL. VI, *The Christian Mission in Relation to Rural Problems;* VOL. VII, *International Missionary Cooperation;* VOL. VIII, *Addresses on General Subjects.*

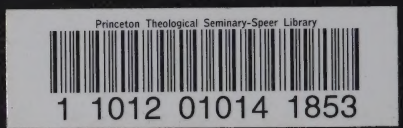
The World Mission of Christianity: Messages and Recommendations of the Jerusalem Meeting. (Pamphlet.)

Roads to the City of God: A World Outlook from Jerusalem. By Basil Mathews. A short account and interpretation.

Available through denominational literature headquarters or the International Missionary Council, 419 Fourth Ave., New York City.

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